



Daily Report

Soviet Union

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25 July 1991

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Signing of Strategic Arms Treaty Previewed

Solton: 'Happy End' To 'Hard Work'

LD2207153491 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service
in English 1210 GMT 22 Jul 91

[Text] A little more than a week remains before the Soviet-American summit in Moscow. Here is a commentary by Yuriy Solton:

The happy end of the summit seems to be programmed. There is an understanding that the Soviet and American Presidents will sign a treaty which has taken experts 10 years of hard work to prepare.

The treaty concerns strategic arms—the very core of the two countries' nuclear arsenals. Not only will their race be restricted; 30 percent will be eliminated.

Even if the Moscow summit were to focus on this issue alone, it could be considered historic. But more than 10 agreements to develop Soviet-American contacts will also be signed and world problems will come under discussion.

No sensational joint statements are likely to emerge, though the possibility exists. But what is important is that President Gorbachev and President Bush will have an opportunity for natural and easy talks to clarify each other's positions on the most acute issues and decide on ways to expand cooperation on the international arena. The two presidents have developed a business-like and trustful relationship, obviously because of a sense of responsibility for the fate of the world and this has helped to channel Soviet-American relations in the right direction.

Clearly it's no mere accident that on the eve of the summit, THE WASHINGTON POST reports that Defense Secretary Dick Cheney has approved a new version of the plan for missile attacks on the Soviet Union should a nuclear war get started. According to this plan 7,000 targets in the Soviet Union would be hit. Though the number of targets has decreased, even the American newspaper remarks that Pentagon officials still think in cold war terms.

When two countries have missiles targeted against each other, it's difficult to speak of them as allies. But it's important that the focus in relations has shifted from mutual threat of nuclear war to the search for confidence-building measures and compromises that can help avoid confrontation. And this in turn is moving the whole world towards new relations. Most certainly a constructive dialogue at the summit in Moscow should help to improve the entire international situation.

History of Talks Viewed

LD2207152691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 1130 GMT 22 Jul 91

[Commentary by Nikolay Agayants]

[Text] Just over a week is left until the forthcoming Soviet-American summit in Moscow during which a treaty on the limitation of strategic offensive arms is expected to be signed. I will remind you that the time limits for this were elaborated during the talks between Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush in London. And now for our commentary by Nikolay Agayants:

[Agayants] For nine long years, overcoming all kinds of obstacles and barriers and the obstructions of the mournful memory of the cold war, the Soviet Union and the United States have moved forward to meet each other half way, neither unsteadily nor shakily, with a view to concluding a historic document, a treaty on Strategic Arms Limitation and Reduction Talks. Moreover, in the last year, when exclusively technical details remained, unexpected failures began and accord could not be achieved at all. But it is true that after every new meeting between U.S. Secretary of State Baker and Bessmertnykh, USSR minister of foreign affairs, certain progress was noted and there were new steps forward but the obstacles in the way of a final understanding were not removed and the date of the Moscow summit hung in the air. And this agitation has been left behind. The Soviet and American delegations in Geneva have been given instructions to prepare the text of a treaty for signing in Moscow, that's to say, essentially, to perform a great deal of work within very short time limits. After all, the experts still must polish the legal formulas and agree on the English and Russian versions of the document, which is over 1,000 pages long. In a word, a landmark solution is approaching which is extremely important not just for us and for the Americans but for the whole of mankind, too. The implementation of it will depend, in many ways, not just upon the firmness of the Soviet leadership, but upon the position by our military and the so-called jingoists who, in the past few months, under the pretext of defending the fatherland and strengthening its defense capability, have been waging, with a plain dealing that is dispiriting, a campaign against many political accords achieved by Gorbachev. Hence a certain inconsistency by the Kremlin at the talks with U.S. representatives, the departure from previously agreed positions, and the dithering about [sharakhaniye uz storony b storonu] which, in the end, led to the START reduction of 50 percent, which was thought of earlier, is so far limited to 30 percent.

But we won't fall into a depression. Things really have begun to get moving. The forthcoming Soviet-American summit, to all appearances, will not be just a ceremonial one. Several more serious bilateral agreements, including in the sphere of economic cooperation, now are being elaborated and prepared for signing. But the most important thing is that the Moscow-Washington dialogue at the highest level, which was begun in Geneva six years ago, will be continued.

Nuclear Targets Show Military Behind Politics

PM2507080591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
23 Jul 91 Union Edition p 4

[By V. Nadein: "Military Still Lagging Behind Politics"]

[Text] Washington—The Pentagon is revising the list of priority targets for nuclear strikes in the event of nuclear conflict with the USSR.

Republic Communist Party Central Committees and CPSU kray and oblast committees are henceforth no longer primary targets for U.S. missiles in the event of nuclear war. Communists' political influence in the Soviet Union, U.S. strategists believe, has declined to such an extent that it is better to save the nuclear warheads for something more substantial. For a strike against the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, for instance.

On the eve of the signing of the strategic arms reduction treaty, planned for the end of July in Moscow, U.S. military planners have just finished their latest revision of the targets for priority strikes in the event of a nuclear conflict.

Usually such revisions are done every October. According to THE WASHINGTON POST, last year they featured few major changes. The military are guided by a three-page political directive code-named NSDD-13 and signed by President Reagan at a time when U.S.-Soviet relations were at their nadir in the wake of the invasion of Afghanistan.

The Reagan directive, which has not subsequently been revised either by President G. Bush or by Defense Secretary R. Cheney, is based on the deterrence principle and obliges the U.S. Armed Forces to deliver a rapid retaliatory strike guaranteed to hit the most important military and civil sectors of the USSR.

The treaty to be signed by M.S. Gorbachev and G. Bush envisages a reduction in strategic potential. Within the framework of the preparations for this treaty the former U.S. list is being reduced by 3,000 targets. But 7,000 targets will basically remain unchanged.

The changes in East Europe made it inexpedient, in the U.S. side's opinion, to continue targeting those countries' territories, and, to a certain extent, this also applies to Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. THE WASHINGTON POST claims that this decision is connected not so much with the withdrawal of Soviet nuclear weapons from these regions as it is with the fact that, in the event of conflict, these countries' governments will refuse to participate in the Soviet Union's military efforts.

Even after the treaty is signed the largest quantity of nuclear warheads—more than 5,000—will remain targeted on the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], which the Americans consider the Soviet Union's main arsenal and decisionmaking center.

All the details of the new nuclear war plan were worked out on computers at Strategic Air Command headquarters in Omaha. Located deep underground, the "air room"—the intellectual and nerve center of the entire headquarters—contains detailed maps and mockups of targets in the USSR in order to calculate the time needed to launch the required number of missiles, and their heights and trajectories. Only the U.S. President, who is accompanied on all his travels by a high-ranking military officer carrying a secret briefcase, is entitled to order a nuclear strike. However, a number of U.S. legislators claim that the Omaha center has been given too many powers in determining the size and targeting of the strike, and that the plan is excessively brutal in a way that is not justified by military requirements.

Many recognized experts have called for a one-third reduction in the list of targets in the USSR. This, in their opinion, would make it possible to halve the U.S. strategic arsenal and save huge amounts of money. So far the military have succeeded in defending their position on the basis of the deterrence doctrine.

The missile strike plans worked out by the nuclear strategists and recently obtained by THE WASHINGTON POST are set out in a reasonable way and come complete with views which outwardly seem entirely logical. However, it takes no great effort to see how rapidly the plans for nuclear retaliation are lagging behind the political realities of the day and are turning into a cruel absurdity.

Since there are "not enough" targets in the USSR for existing nuclear weapons (or for those which will be left after the Moscow treaty is signed), the list includes not only civilian targets—whose military value is dubious—but also undoubtedly worthless targets. These include, for instance, silos from which missiles will already have been launched in the event of a Soviet attack.

The RSFSR, which is the target for half the U.S. nuclear arsenal, recently won special praise from President G. Bush during B.N. Yeltsin's visit to the United States. There is a nightmarish contradiction between Bush's admission that the Russians have shown a "devotion to democratic values and free-market principles" and the terrifying Omaha list which includes every rayon center of even the slightest importance.

Judging by U.S. press statements, the strategic arms treaty is unlikely in the near future to be continued in the direction of new cuts in both countries' nuclear potential. It is not a question of the experts, who are naturally tired from their exhausting negotiations, nor is it a question of the parliaments where the new agreements will have to undergo major checks: Judging by everything, there will be severe criticism on both sides of the Atlantic. And the criticism will most probably be similar in reproaching the two governments for allowing the treaty to favor the other side.

Today the traditional reasons for the use of strategic weapons—a nuclear attack on U.S. territory or an attack

on West Europe—are becoming practically unbelievable. On the one hand, even glasnost in the Soviet Union—without having turned into a free press yet—is reducing the military need for the use of missiles. For example, the greater openness in publications has allowed U.S. intelligence to establish the vital importance of certain high-voltage power lines in supplying power to cities.

The change in plans is the result. People in the "air room" are retargeting missile strikes from power stations located in densely populated areas to power lines.

Although there is a veil of secrecy over nuclear missiles in the United States, legislators and the press are privy to a considerable amount of important information. It would be an exaggeration to compare the power of public opinion with the power of a destructive thermonuclear missile. But it would also be naive to fail to see how much more information ordinary Americans have, compared with us, allowing them to arrive at an informed opinion about ballistic missiles, bombs, B-2 stealth bombers, and other insanely expensively and totally useless rubbish.

The list of targets compiled by the Soviet command is hardly likely to be any more humane or logical. And, of course, the new treaty constitutes not just an alluring symbol but a real reduction in the threat.

Soviet Diplomat Interviewed on Vienna Talks

OW2507011491 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1500 GMT 24 Jul 91

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] For the first time in Europe negotiations are being held which deal with disarmament on a national and not "block" basis. These discussions took place during the last summer session of the Vienna talks about the reduction of armed forces in Europe. In a special interview with "DP" [Diplomatic Panorama] a Soviet diplomat participating in the discussions said that recently they had moved towards serious and businesslike work. On 14 June a special meeting of the 22 participating countries was called in the Austrian capital to lay the foundations for moves towards the ratification and realisation of the Vienna-I Agreement. After this regular plenary meetings connected with the formulation of the Vienna-2 agreement were resumed and 2 working groups were formed; one to deal with the reduction of armed forces the other to take stabilising measures.

From National to "Block" Basis

During negotiations the USSR presented a working document which describes their principles for the reduction of armed forces and works on the premise that disarmament should be carried out in each country on a national basis. The point is that the Paris Agreement signed on 19 November was drawn up on a "block" basis i.e. based on quotas allotted to NATO and the Warsaw

Pact. As the Warsaw Pact as such no longer exists the former principle of "block for block" reductions is no longer valid; therefore the question of the reduction of armed forces on a national basis arose. However it was easier for the USSR to act before when so-called "group interests" existed. Even now the "group approach" has been preserved amongst the NATO countries, but an agreement has also been reached with them regarding the change to the reduction of armed forces on a national basis.

USA: How Many Soldiers Left in Europe?

The presence of American forces in Europe especially in Germany still remains a topic for negotiation. It is supposed that the agreement under preparation will include a clause regarding the number of American troops remaining in Europe. A similar clause in the agreement will concern Great Britain, France, Belgium and the USSR who also have forces in Germany. The complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Germany is foreseen when an agreement acceptable to both parties is reached.

Which Forces Will Be Kept?

Determining which forces should be cut is proving complicated. The participants in the negotiations represent different points of view on this matter. The USSR works on the premise that land forces, air forces and air defence should be reduced. These 3 categories are already included in the Paris Treaty on the disarmament of conventional forces in Europe. The other side however insists that a reduction in strategic missile forces, marines, coastal defence, naval air services and railway and building units should be included in the new agreement. Soviet experts basing their position on the fact that the USSR has a completely different military structure to that of its Western negotiating partners. [sentence as received] In order to avoid a repeat performance of the discussions regarding disarmament and the reduction of armed forces in Central Europe where discussions came to a standstill it is necessary to make the present agreement easily attainable. The aim is to present this agreement to CSCE members who will meet next March at the Helsinki-2 meeting.

Soviet Initiative at CFE Talks Lauded

PM2407140191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 Jul 91 Second Edition p 7

[By unnamed correspondent: "Realities of New Europe"]

[Text] Vienna—The delegations of the 22 states taking part in the CFE talks are leaving for home. Until the beginning of autumn the still silence of the Hofburg Palace's halls will be broken only by tourists.

How did the summer round of the disarmament debates in Vienna end? A speech at the final plenary session contained what in my view was a sober assessment: After

a protracted lull, the delegations have finally accomplished some businesslike, serious work.

Toward the end of the round, devoted mainly to questions of limiting personnel and drafting stabilization measures, the initiative was taken by the Soviet delegation. Its leader, Ambassador Oleg Grinevskiy, read out a working document which set out the main principles of the future accord on limiting the personnel of armed forces in Europe.

The Soviet side considers that restrictions and reductions of personnel numbers should be carried out on a national basis by each member state.

In our experts' opinion, restrictions should apply to the numerical strength of ground forces, air forces, and air defense aviation. The personnel of strategic missile forces and naval forces, national air defense troops, railroad and construction troops, as well as formations safeguarding internal security should be exempt from limitation. That range fully accords with the mandate of the talks. It is practicable, easy to implement, and precludes fruitless discussions.

The decisive move in the "endgame" was made by our delegation after colleagues from a number of countries had presented their own documents on 4 July. Commentators here believe that their demarche resulted in a noticeable reduction in the number of points of contact in the sides' positions. Attempts to arbitrarily increase the demands are clearly evident. I shall cite just one example: What logic dictated the proposal to include strategic missile troops personnel in the parameters of conventional forces? Clearly, such manipulation does not create a foundation for constructive work.

'Final Draft' of Chemical Arms Treaty Viewed

*OW2307051191 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1830 GMT 22 Jul 91*

[*"Diplomatic Panorama"* report by Mikhail Mayorov and Igor Porshnev; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The UN Disarmament Conference due to resume its work in Geneva on Tuesday is expected to focus on a convention for banning chemical weapons, officials of the Soviet foreign ministry's arms control and disarmament department told an IF [INTERFAX] correspondent on Monday. Although the issue has been under discussion for nearly 20 years, agreement on finalising the job came recently after the UN special committee for banning chemical weapons presided over by Mr. Sergey Batzanov of the Soviet Union renewed its mandate for the talks, with 39 member nations in the Conference reaching agreement for the convention to be ready by 1992. The final draft will contain nearly 500 pages.

U.S. Position

A breakthrough came in May after President Bush gave up his earlier proposal for a security margin under which the United States reserved the right to hold back to 2 percent of its stockpile of chemical weapons subject to elimination. Following the Gulf war, not only did the Americans agree to the elimination of their chemical weapons over a 10-year period envisaged by the convention, but they also no longer insist on the right to retaliate with chemical weapons. By now all member countries in the Disarmament Conference, including the United States, seem to be [as received] increasingly inclined to favour a comprehensive chemical ban, or "a total zero" as laid down in the draft convention.

USSR: Technical Hitches

Under President Gorbachev's directive of March 10 this year, and consultations with the appropriate parliamentary committee, the Soviet Defence Ministry submitted a plan for eliminating chemical weapons now pending scrutiny by the cabinet. But one crucial question of a possible site to do so remains unresolved. The residents of the city of Chapayevsk which sites the appropriate facility for the destruction of combat chemicals are strongly opposed to the operation on the grounds of their own safety. The Soviet government ordered the plant in Chapayevsk to be converted into a training centre. But no other alternative site has so far been found because of as much [as received] negative response by the public, including environmentalist groups.

Outcome of Gorbachev, G-7 Talks Assessed

PM2507101991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
23 Jul 91 Union Edition p 1

[M. Berger "Political Diary": "Seven Plus One": Different Economic Consequences"]

[Text] In the opinion of Western experts cited by the U.S.'s NBC TV in a commentary on the London meeting, the Soviet Union will need at least 25 years to create even just a mixed economy. In their opinion, the task of the reforms is too grandiose: namely, to overcome the self-eulogizing and the approaches formed during 74 years of the communist system.

Even if the opinion of some unnamed experts does not amount to a court verdict, the fact nevertheless that this commentary gave our economy 25 years' "probation" (it will achieve certain successes with the fulfillment of certain conditions both by the West and the country itself) should be given attention.

A whole generation to form a relatively normal market economy is not the kind of timetable that we are accustomed to seeing in official and alternative programs here, even the building of communism was given less time than that. But, bearing in mind the degree of abnormality of our economy plus the historical experience of forming a modern Western market, (around 200 years or, in terms that we understand better, 40 five-year plans), the allotted time does not seem unduly overstated. And the example of the most rapid successes of the new "tiger" economies shows that it takes quite a while for even the most fantastic breakthrough.

It cannot be ruled out, of course, that we will demonstrate the ability to achieve even faster success by an early release from the "prison of the planned economy" but a number of factors are needed for that. Namely, our firm and clear intention to free ourselves, that is, to join in the world economy as a full-fledged member, and the desire and ability of the developed countries to help us in that. Even though Western aid cannot be viewed as redemption, a "release on bail," without it the prison term may well extend even beyond the most pessimistic predictions.

There is one obvious link: The more convincing our desire for the market economy, the greater the material support from the developed countries will be. How far was the West convinced—the West which showed such a readiness to be convinced and which spent two months discussing not only the very idea of inviting the USSR president to London, but also what he might bring with him? And in this connection what are the actual economic consequences of the London meeting?

One can, of course, be convinced that the G-7 leaders liked the program for the simple reason that none of them demanded its radicalization, some even, conversely, urged greater gradualness, as First Vice Premier V. Shcherbakov points out in interviews. It may also be

presumed that no one attached special significance to the fact that the Soviet-U.S. joint study "Window of Opportunity," which was actively discussed for two and a half months, was not officially adopted by the Soviet side and its authors did not take part in preparing the official documents of the London meeting. Against the background of the undoubted political success of the meeting, such assumptions have some foundation.

However, the reference in the economic declaration on the conference's results to the fact that large-scale financial aid to the USSR is premature indicates the presence of certain doubts, primarily among U.S. and Japanese leaders. In the Japanese delegation's opinion, the draft of the transformations presented disappointed the participants in the meeting.

Even if that disappointment was felt by the Japanese delegation alone, that is quite significant because Japan is now the largest owner of disposable capital, possessing more than twice the potential of all the international financial organizations.

Yes, M. Gorbachev did not even ask for financial assistance in London, despite what many expected. Hard though it is to imagine that we do not need the money, not only for the reforms themselves which, as postwar experience shows, have not been achieved anywhere without large Western investments, but also to keep the republics from introducing their own currencies. In other words, credits, were they to be offered, would aid internal stabilization in the USSR since the receipt of major resources would strengthen the union of those who intend to take part in using them. But M. Gorbachev appealed to the G-7 leaders not for money but for help to be given to the Soviet Union to join in the world market system and save the country from economic catastrophe. And on that point the Soviet president received approval and support but no promises of new financial aid which could have been offered even without a direct request. Western leaders want at the very least to be convinced that the resources will be used effectively within existing aid programs. That will probably be undertaken in particular by the G-7 finance ministers as well as the present and future chairmen of the seven, J. Major and H. Kohl, who will be visiting our country.

The West's caution on specific moves is demonstrated by the status of associate member of the IMF and the World Bank, a status invented especially for us, and by the fact that we did not achieve even the minimum in the financial sphere, increasing the loan limit at the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development—currently the only international financial organization of which we are a full member—and success in the procedure system. Our potential for the next three years is restricted by our contributions to that bank—no more than \$220 million in total. As Western sources report, the representatives of France, the FRG, and Italy proposed doubling or tripling the USSR's limit at the European Bank but the United States and Japan objected. The reason for the objection—the report that

was presented makes people doubt that the essence of the market system is understood in the Soviet Union. Thus the idea of some high-ranking members of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers that their program does not meet with fervent support in the West simply because it is being explained inadequately and by the wrong people does not find convincing support.

Of course, the G-7 six-point plan to help the USSR is an achievement. However, its somewhat general character is most likely a reflection of the "generality," the imprecision of our market intentions. Undoubtedly the granting of technical and consultative help by the international organizations in implementing economic reforms in the USSR and the assistance of the G-7 in the sphere of conversion and the modernization of the energy sectors will also cost a considerable amount and the West is ready for that. Thanks to these accords we are receiving a kind of external technical control department which theoretically, should radicalize our actions. But can one be sure that all this will suffice to reduce the time spent in a purgatory of uncertainty and transition?

Spokesman Churkin Comments on International Events

'Crucial Stage' of Mideast Peace Process

LD2407142591 Moscow TASS in English 1258 GMT 24 Jul 91

[By Sergey Petukhov and Yuriy Rublevskiy]

[Text] Moscow July 24 TASS—"Intensive political and diplomatic efforts over the past months to achieve a Middle East settlement, in which the Soviet Union played an active part, seem to have entered a crucial stage," Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vitaliy Churkin told a briefing here today.

This happened thanks to the adoption by the Arab sides of a formula for holding a peace conference that was elaborated during numerous contacts between the USSR and the United States as co-initiators and co-chairmen of the future conference, and between them and Arabs, Palestinians, and Israelis.

From the viewpoint of creating a favourable atmosphere for launching the peace process, Churkin said, the Soviet side attaches great importance to the readiness expressed by several Arab countries to lift the boycott of Israel, which that country persistently sought and which will promote mutual confidence.

This should take place only on condition that the construction of settlements in the occupied Arab territories is suspended.

It is up to Israel to respond now, Churkin said. The Soviet Union is hopeful that the government of Israel will display a sense of responsibility and common sense and give the green light to the convocation of the peace conference.

SS-23 Issue 'Closed'

LD2407151691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1440 GMT 24 Jul 91

[By Sergey Petukhov and Yuriy Rublevskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 24 Jul (TASS)—The USSR has carried out in full its obligations in accordance with the treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles and with regard to "SS-23" missiles. This was stated at a briefing in the USSR Foreign Ministry press center by Vitaliy Churkin, chief of the Information Department of the USSR Foreign Ministry in connection with the fact that an attempt has again been made recently to raise the issue of the "SS-23" missiles belonging to Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Germany in the context of the observance of the treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles by the USSR.

As far as the aforementioned missiles are concerned—those deployed by the Soviet Union in the GDR, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia during 1985 and 1986—he noted that these are the property of the above-named countries, that they are on their territories, and that they do not fall within the jurisdiction of the treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles.

The Soviet Union, Vitaliy Churkin said, has submitted explanations on the issue of the "SS-23" missiles belonging to Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Germany and considers that these allow the U.S. concern on this count to be fully relieved and that it is high time that this issue is closed.

Denies Uranium Sold in Mozambique

LD2407150991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1437 GMT 24 Jul 91

[By Sergey Petukhov and Yuriy Rublevskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 24 Jul (TASS)—At a briefing today Vitaliy Churkin, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Department, denied assertions made by certain mass media that uranium of Soviet origin has allegedly appeared on the "black market" in Mozambique in various sized packages "bearing Slavonic writing", having apparently been stolen from a Soviet ship in Maputo port. These reports do not accord with the facts and are entirely groundless, the diplomat said.

The possibility of a Soviet ship appearing in port in Mozambique carrying uranium of Soviet origin can be ruled out, Vitaliy Churkin said. In accordance with contracts which have been concluded and with established practice, uranium exported from the USSR is sent to West European countries by the shortest sea route and to other regions only by air. As far as the packaging is concerned, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said that specialists are well aware that only standard containers meeting agreed international requirements are used to transport this kind of material.

'Satisfaction' With Guadalajara Summit

LD2507055991 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1438 GMT 24 Jul 91

[By Sergey Petukhov and Yuri Rubleskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 24 Jul (TASS)—Speaking at a briefing here today, Vitaliy Churkin, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, read a USSR Foreign Ministry statement which contains an appraisal of the first Ibero-American meeting of heads of state and governments of Latin America, Spain and Portugal, which was held in Guadalajara, Mexico.

The results of the meeting, which formulated decisions on creating new mechanisms of cooperation in the political, economic, social and other spheres with the object of ensuring joint advancement within the framework of the Ibero-American community toward the horizons of the third millennium, were received with satisfaction in the Soviet Union, the document points out. The forum's declaration reflects the vital aspirations of the Ibero-American countries to ensure for their peoples a lasting peace and well-being on the basis of the principles of democracy, respect for human rights and basic freedoms, and their desire to occupy a worthy place in the world community as active participants in creating structures of just and democratic legality. The document expresses their political will to make a joint contribution to strengthening peace and security, achieving a complete and all-embracing disarmament, and in solving global economic, social, and other problems confronting mankind on the threshold of the 21st century.

Such an approach coincides with the Soviet Union's foreign policy guidelines and meets with our full support, the USSR Foreign Ministry statement points out. The intentions of the Ibero-American states to assist in reaffirming the priority of international law in international relations, the impermissibility of the use of force, and the settling of questions of dispute exclusively by means of talks are welcomed in the USSR. Noting with satisfaction the desire of the participants in the meeting to contribute to the enhancement of the United Nations role in international affairs on the basis of the consistent implementation of the objectives for which it was created, the Soviet Union expresses its readiness for fruitful cooperation in this context with the Ibero-American countries and for specific interaction with them in shaping the structures and mechanisms of a democratic world order. It is important that the Ibero-American countries, in stating their intention to create their own community and to proceed by way of mutual integration, see themselves as an organic integral part of the entire world community which is open to cooperation with other countries and regions. This creates new opportunities for strengthening the traditional ties which bind the continent with Europe, the document notes.

The forum in Guadalajara was noteworthy for the fact that the representatives of all the Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking states of the community, without exception, took part in it. In this context the USSR Foreign Ministry welcomes the equal participation in the meeting of the president of Cuba and sees this fact as the beginning of the practical reintegration of this country into the political, economic and cultural-humanitarian structures of Latin America, and the full normalization of its relations with the states of the region. The meeting was an important event in international life.

The USSR is convinced that the results of the meeting will help the development of the general world processes of integration and democratization with respect for the traditional values and freedom of choice of each people and state. They are testimony to the growing activity and the role of the Ibero-American countries in regional and world affairs and in solving topical problems of the present day. The Soviet Union, the statement emphasizes, assesses this as a positive factor contributing to the strengthening of the spirit of dialogue and partnership in the world.

Agreements During Bush Visit

LD2407172391 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak
Network in Russian 1630 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Text] At a briefing today Vitaliy Churkin, head of the information directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, announced that during the meeting in Moscow between the USSR and U.S. presidents, apart from a treaty on reducing strategic offensive armaments, several other agreements will be signed relating to the expanding sphere of bilateral practical cooperation in the economic and humanitarian fields. He noted that work on these agreements is still in progress.

World Economic Forum To Meet in Moscow

OW2507090091 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1800 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A meeting of the World Economic Forum on the new start of the USSR is due in Moscow on September 5-7. Over 150 foreign participants are expected to arrive. The meeting will discuss key financial, currency, trade and economic problems related to Soviet integration in the international economic space. Special attention will be paid to President Gorbachev's London talks with the leaders of the Group of Seven.

The forum is an influential international non-governmental organization of prominent statesmen, politicians, businessmen and economists from around the world.

World Bank May Resume Technical Assistance*OW2507090191 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1800 GMT 24 Jul 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] World Bank experts now visiting Moscow are negotiating the resumption of technical assistance to the USSR with the State Bank, Foreign Ministry and other government agencies. An appropriate understanding was reached last year. However, actual assistance was frozen due to the political situation in the USSR.

Ignatenko Answers Questions on Republic Issues*LD2407165191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak
Network in Russian 1600 GMT 24 Jul 91*

[Text] After the [23 July Ignatenko press] briefing was over an IZVESTIYA correspondent asked Ignatenko to answer a number of other questions, in particular on a possible meeting between Gorbachev and Gamsakhurdia. Ignatenko commented as follows: There are no apparent grounds for such a meeting.

The IZVESTIYA correspondent also asked about the president's attitude to the signing of a treaty between Russia and Lithuania, which was announced for 29 July. Ignatenko said that it is necessary to bear in mind that many similar agreements are being signed now; naturally every sovereign republic is free to sign any treaty, if it regards it as beneficial and expedient.

German Story on USSR Uranium Exports Rebutted*PM2407141191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jul 91
Second Edition p 6*

["Explanation" by S.V. Yermakov, director of the USSR Atomic Power and Industry Ministry Press Center, given in response to report in FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE: "Of Fact and Fantasy: Telephone Call to the Editorial Office"]

[Text] S.V. Yermakov, director of the USSR Atomic Power and Industry Ministry press center, now provides

an explanation to PRAVDA's comment entitled "Fantasy or Fact?" which was published on the basis of a report by FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE's correspondent in Maputo.

In the world uranium market, the only exporter from the USSR is the Tekhsnabeksport All-Union Association, which exports services and natural and enriched uranium to virtually all the countries of Western Europe, the United States, and South Korea. Deliveries to West Europe are carried out on condition of liability for goods to the point of transfer, that is, only as far as the ports of Leningrad and Riga from where ships laden with cargo go exclusively to the ports of Le Havre and Hamburg. Shipments to the United States and South Korea are made by plane. Thus it is impossible for a Soviet ship carrying Soviet uranium to appear in the region of Mozambique.

It is well known that uranium suppliers throughout the world use only standard packing which corresponds to international requirements and regulations. Thus the mention of uranium packaging in the form of film canisters and triangular and quadrangular form are astonishing—such packaging simply does not exist.

One's attention is drawn to the cost of uranium allegedly sold on the black market—approximately \$3,000 per kilogram. Natural uranium in the world market costs about \$24 per kilogram. The price mentioned in the article can only be for highly enriched uranium (containing more than 20 percent uranium-235). The USSR supplies its clients under contract with nothing but natural uranium and enriched uranium containing no more than 5 percent uranium-235.

Perhaps someone wants to use such reports on the alleged illegal trade in Soviet-produced uranium to discredit the Soviet Union, such a reliable partner in the world market?

We agree with PRAVDA's comment that it would be good if the respected FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE prominently publicized the false alarm created by its publication.

Incidentally, according to a press report, the president of Mozambique has already officially rebutted the "facts" on the illegal uranium trade in Maputo.

United States & Canada

Foreign Ministry Office on Gorbachev-Bush Summit

OW2507012891 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1500 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] One of the questions to be discussed at the Bush-Gorbachev summit to be held at the end of this month in Moscow is that of international aid in helping to convert the Soviet Union's arms industry. The Board for International Economic Ties at the Soviet Foreign Ministry told our correspondent that its department for conversion is at the moment busy preparing suggestions in the light of the decisions taken at the recent G-7 summit in London. Their suggestions will include concrete aims and trends for co-operation which according to Soviet experts have potential.

It seems that a list of aims which need to be achieved according to the restrictions placed by the Cocom [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls] countries will be drawn up. This is being done at the request of the Americans who want to know exactly which projects are in question. If the principles of co-operation in converting the Soviet arms industry on a joint basis are more or less clear then the mechanism for co-operation in this sphere with the G-7 countries has not yet been devised. [sentence as received] It is possible that the Soviet Foreign Minister's (A. Bessmertnykh) letter to the UN general secretary, Perez de Cuellar, at present under preparation could help to some extent; it will explain the Soviet position on international co-operation in the field of conversion.

U.S. Said To Revise Soviet Nuclear Targets

PM2407081591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Jul 91 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Targeted by Pentagon"]

[Text] Washington, 21 Jul—The United States has prepared a renewed plan for missile strikes against the Soviet Union in the event of the outbreak of nuclear war. Recently approved by U.S. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney, it envisages engaging 7,000 targets on Soviet territory. This is reported today by THE WASHINGTON POST, citing ranking U.S. officials.

The new list of targets reflects the considerable political improvements of late to strengthen global international security, and it excludes around 3,000 targets sited mainly in East Europe. The new war plans also take account of the provisions of the treaty on strategic offensive arms, which should be signed by the Soviet and U.S. leaders this month.

Nonetheless, the United States is still envisaging the complete destruction, for instance, of such a major Soviet republic as the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated

Socialist Republic], with the help of the 5,000 nuclear warheads targeted on it—each of which is considerably more powerful than the atom bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

In the words of some unnamed officials: "Some important changes were made to the secret war plans last October. Many significant changes should come into effect in two and a half months."

And although the revised list of targets contains fewer names than previous versions, THE WASHINGTON POST stresses, it still demonstrates that the Pentagon strategists are utilizing criteria of the "cold war" period.

U.S. Press Assessments of G-7 Meeting Cited

PM2407125791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
20 Jul 91 Union Edition p 5

[Report by correspondent V. Nadein: "Everything Is Fine, but No Money. U.S. Press on London Conference"]

[Text] Washington—All the U.S. mass media reported in banner headlines that the Soviet Union did not obtain cash loans at the London meeting, although the same newspapers and broadcasts repeatedly reported that the Soviet Union had not asked for money.

This might seem surprising, but right up to the last minute there was a fear in the United States that H. Kohl and F. Mitterrand's arguments in favor of rapid and substantial aid to the Soviet Union might prevail. Most experts and, what is most important, the U.S. business world, rejected this option.

The leaders of the "big seven" were already sitting around their common table and President Gorbachev had flown to London when THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, the newspaper of U.S. business circles, deemed it necessary to publish an editorial article. The newspaper came out in unusually harsh form against the very faint or, bluntly speaking, the negligible likelihood that the Soviet Union would nevertheless be granted substantial credits, including 10 billion [currency not specified] for a stabilization fund to support the ruble's convertibility.

"Soviet businessmen know that they can survive only thanks to the charity of the local party official," THE WALL STREET JOURNAL writes. "Their businesses could be shut down under any pretext, and their property confiscated. They have no incentive to invest money. The private sector, although it is growing, is operating under the law of the jungle, without any chance of getting a contract fulfilled or finding protection from racketeers."

The U.S. leadership's intention to divide the main problems into two basic groups can be seen from local press comments. The United States will prefer to transfer everything associated with granting direct financial aid

to the Soviet Union into the sphere of action of international organizations and institutions. It prefers to leave the problems of disarmament, human rights, and so on, which have little connection with a bank account, for one-to-one talks.

For instance, a step such as granting the Soviet Union Most Favored Nation trading status will emerge the sphere of economic cooperation in the near future. The United States, itself experiencing a slump in business activity, will confine itself to this for the moment. The government has no money, but it could encourage and inspire private business with its guarantees. But in light of the assessment of business activity conditions in the USSR given by THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, which is doubtless shared by the White House, there is little chance of such a move.

The last obstacle in the way of a strategic arms treaty, it was announced, was cleared in London, and the U.S. mass media are full of salutations. Although the favorable responses are counterbalanced by conservatives' skeptical commentaries and although certain former military personnel claim that "loopholes" in the treaty make it susceptible to deliberate contraventions, on the whole observers predict an easy passage for it in the Senate.

I want to note one substantial detail. In the old days, and quite recently too, all reservations and fears related only to U.S. legislators. It was thought that Soviet parliamentarians would readily rubber-stamp any international treaty signed by the government. Therefore the likelihood of the Supreme Soviet's rejecting or even impeding the progress of ratifying the treaty was not considered and was not even mentioned.

The situation has now changed. Not only the respectable NEW YORK TIMES but the much more egocentric and eccentric WASHINGTON TIMES are defining the strategic arms reduction treaty's success as its successful passage in both countries' parliaments.

The capital's WASHINGTON POST newspaper headed its editorial article devoted to the results of the completed "big Seven" meeting "Good Day in London." Having underlined the indispensable importance of politicians of that level meeting face to face and having noted that J. Major and G. Bush are increasingly frequently using in their speeches the epithets "irrevocable" and "irreversible," previously exclusive to Gorbachev, the newspaper ended its commentary as follows: "Much is going badly in the Soviet Union, which is struggling to change itself. But if the day brought more of an understanding of the Soviets to the politicians leading the rich democracies, if it left the Soviets with greater hope for true cooperation with us, then the day was well spent."

Bessmertnykh, U.S. Ambassador Discuss Issues

LD2407165791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1630 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Text] Moscow, 24 Jul (TASS)—USSR Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh today received Jack Matlock, the U.S. ambassador to the USSR, at the latter's request.

During the conversation certain topical questions concerning Soviet-U.S. relations were discussed, in particular questions of limiting arms and also detailed preparations for the forthcoming meeting in Moscow between the USSR and U.S. presidents.

General Powell Meets With Yazov, Moiseyev

PM2407151591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Jul 91 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Visit Is Continuing"]

[Text] A talk was held 22 July between Marshal of the Soviet Union D.T. Yazov, USSR minister of defense, and General C. Powell, chairman of the U.S. Armed Forces Joint Chiefs of Staff, who is in our country on an official visit. Specific features of the military-political situation in the world were examined during the talk.

The USSR minister of defense emphasized that the contacts between the two countries' Armed Forces which have become traditional of late are being implemented on the basis of the deepening and development of multifaceted Soviet-American relations.

The meeting was attended by Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister, and J. Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR.

During the visit talks were held between Gen C. Powell and Army Gen M.A. Moiseyev, during which questions concerning European and regional security problems, disarmament, and the development of contacts between the two countries' Armed Forces were discussed.

On 23 July, Gen C. Powell visited the Kantemir Guards Tank Division where he acquainted himself with the organization of the personnel's study and combat training and inspected the division's standard-issue arms and combat hardware.

In the afternoon, Gen C. Powell visited the Taman Guards Motorized Rifle Division where he attended tactical, fire-practice, and driving lessons and acquainted himself with the everyday life of Soviet servicemen.

The guest was accompanied during his tour by Army Gen M.A. Moiseyev.

Visits General Staff Academy

LD2407182691 Moscow TASS in English 1752 GMT
24 Jul 91

[By TASS correspondent Vasilii Titov]

[Text] Moscow July 24 TASS—The development of contacts between the Soviet and U.S. military, launched three years ago, will help relieve people of the hard heritage of the cold war, Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff Colin Powell believes.

On the third day of his visit to the Soviet Union, Powell visited the Soviet Armed Forces General Staff Academy and addressed its cadets and professors.

Powell shared his views on the political situation in the world and spoke about prospects for the development of the U.S. Army and Navy and ways to broaden interaction between the two countries' military. Powell answered questions from the audience.

Powell got acquainted with the academy's training facilities and the process of training the Soviet Army's commanders. Powell signed the book of honourable guests.

In the morning, Powell and members of the U.S. delegation visited an air garrison in Kubinka in the Moscow Military District.

Church To Sponsor Public Prayer for U.S. Summit

LD2407190991 Moscow TASS in English 1335 GMT
24 Jul 91

[By TASS correspondents Anna Grigoryeva and Aleksandras Budrys]

[Text] Moscow July 24 TASS—A public prayer for the success of the Soviet-U.S. summit will be held at the Moscow patriarch's Epiphany Cathedral on July 28.

Soviet and U.S. Presidents Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush will meet in Moscow on July 29.

An address by Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia Aleksey II will be read out during the service, a Moscow Patriarchate spokesman told TASS. The head of the Russian Orthodox Church is currently accompanying the relics of St. Serafim Sarovskiy to the Diveyevo Cloister on the Volga.

A six-hour ecumenical prayer for the success of the Soviet-U.S. summit will be held at the Resurrection Church in Moscow's centre on July 30 and 31 after the Orthodox liturgy. Representatives from the Russian Orthodox Church and other Christian churches of the Soviet Union and the United States will attend the service.

Such prayers have become a good tradition, after the first of them was held during the Geneva summit in 1985. This will be the third such prayer, and it is

expected to deepen spiritual ties between the two countries' Christians and express their will to live in peace and accord in conformity with the Lord's Commandments.

Naval Group Ends Visit to Florida

PM2407144591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 23 Jul 91 First Edition p 3

[TASS report under the general heading "Visits Concluded"]

[Text] Mayport, Florida, 20 Jul—The missile cruiser Marshal Ustinov, the large ASW [anti-submarine warfare] vessel Simferopol, and the tanker Dnestr were welcomed at the U.S. Navy's Atlantic Fleet base at Mayport, Florida by a 21-gun salute and full military honors. They paid an official friendly visit here 16-20 July under the flag of Admiral F.N. Gromov, commander of the Northern Fleet.

During their stay in Mayport, apart from taking part in a large cultural and sports program, the Soviet naval seamen familiarized themselves with the combat training of U.S. servicemen and their living and leisure conditions. They watched displays by carrier-borne aircraft and visited naval specialist training complexes, the coastal overhaul center, and naval hospitals.

Northeast Asia

Japan Announces Plan To Resolve USSR Debts

LD2407084691 Moscow TASS in English 0705 GMT
24 Jul 91

[By correspondent Vasilii Golovnin]

[Text] Tokyo July 24 TASS—The Government of Japan is prepared to resume a partial insurance of trade with the Soviet Union to resolve the Soviet commercial debt problem which hinders the development of economic relations between the two countries.

This will become Tokyo's first step in implementation of the decisions of the recent Group of Seven (G-7) summit in London, aimed at giving a boost to relations with the USSR.

Within the framework of the suggested scheme, it is supposed that the Vneshekonombank of the USSR will assume responsibility for Soviet enterprises' and organisations' debts to Japanese partners. As of May this year the debts ran at a total of over 510 million U.S. dollars.

Following this, Japanese private banks will remit 350 million dollars to Vneshekonombank. The funds will be used to repay the most pressing debts. Approximately 200 million dollars out of the amount will be covered by the scheme of Japanese Government insurance of foreign trade, which will make such an operation relatively safe for private business.

Then Vneshekonombank through its channels must exact debts from Soviet enterprises and repay the Japanese loans.

This elaborate operation virtually means that the government of Japan has agreed to finance, in a limited amount, the repayment of pressing Soviet debts.

Government insurance of such operations with regard to the USSR was terminated in 1979 following the bringing of Soviet Troops to Afghanistan.

However, analysts in Tokyo emphasise that this step by no means signifies the start of large-scale financial aid to the Soviet Union.

The Japanese Ministry of International Trade and Industry has notified that the scheme to resolve the debt issue has been brought to the notice of the Soviet side. The scheme is expected to be discussed within the next three months.

The suggested scheme for the repayment of debts may be put into effect as early as the end of this year, a spokesman for the Japanese ministry told TASS.

Subsequently, as the NIHON KEIZAI newspaper close to business circles points out, the scope of the scheme may be widened because the overall sum of Soviet overdue and other debts to Japan amounts to two billion dollars and Tokyo is not sure that the Soviet Union will be able to accurately meet its commitments.

Commentary on Japanese Proposal at ASEAN

*OW2507101191 Moscow Radio Moscow in Japanese
1100 GMT 24 Jul 91*

[Commentary by Aleksey Nikolayev]

[Text] An expanded conference of ASEAN foreign ministers and their dialogue partners, including the United States, Japan, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the EC, and the ROK, was held in Kuala Lumpur, the capital of Malaysia. Speaking at this conference, Japanese Foreign Minister Nakayama proposed starting multilateral dialogues on various aspects of Asia-Pacific security. In this connection, Radio Moscow's Aleksey Nikolayev states as follows:

In making this proposal, what Japan has in mind as its own independent idea seems to include, first of all, Japan's intention to strengthen its own role in this region, and also to eliminate apprehensions existing since the end of World War II about Japan's military program.

Whatever the reasons, there is no doubt that this proposal is built on a rational basis. Therefore, it is no accident that Foreign Minister Nakayama's initiative was basically approved by participants in the Kuala Lumpur conference.

Well, then, what will the appropriate mechanism for Asia-Pacific security be? Which nations should be invited to join this system? Such issues remain to be clarified.

Concerning this point, the KYODO NEWS SERVICE points out that from ASEAN's standpoint, it would be undesirable to discuss the security issue at the expanded foreign ministerial conference of ASEAN and its dialogue partners because of a fear that discussion of other urgent issues will then be left behind. The United States has stated a similar view.

Meanwhile, representatives from Australia and Canada gave their support for Foreign Minister Nakayama's proposal. In particular, the Canadian representative maintained that Nakayama's proposal was sensible enough and then proposed that the Soviet Union, China, and Indochinese nations should be invited to attend the future regional conference on security. It is very reasonable to grant full membership to the Soviet Union and China as partners in dialogue with ASEAN nations because [words indistinct].

Furthermore, I think it is of great significance to point out that the Soviet Union has made a proposal for holding group discussions on Asia-Pacific security so as to settle various problems.

In fact, Gorbachev, then president of the Supreme Soviet, called on various nations in the region to cooperate in seeking ways to promote peace and security and to strengthen cooperation in his speech in Vladivostok five years ago. His proposal was further developed in his speech at [words indistinct], and then fleshed out with practical details during his later visits to Beijing and Tokyo.

However, Japanese officials, as well as other nations, have long failed to respond to the Soviet proposal. Judging from remarks made by Foreign Minister Nakayama and other participants at the Kuala Lumpur conference, it seems that the concept of holding group discussions on regional security has finally been approved at the current conference.

DPRK's Inspection Decision in IAEA Welcomed

*SK2407122691 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean
1100 GMT 17 Jul 91*

[From the "Focus on Asia" Program; commentary by Aleksey Nikolayev]

[Text] The DPRK has decided to sign an agreement which envisages an international inspection of nuclear facilities in North Korea. According to foreign press reports, the agreement was signed provisionally in Vienna after talks between representatives of the DPRK and the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA]. In this connection, station commentator Nikolayev writes:

We recall the fact that the DPRK joined the nuclear non-proliferation treaty in 1985. According to the regulations of the treaty, each country joining the treaty should sign an agreement on guaranteeing nuclear safeguards with the IAEA; in other words, an agreement on placing all nuclear facilities and materials in its territory under the inspection of the IAEA.

The DPRK had had talks on this issue with the IAEA in the past. However, the talks were suspended last year. The suspension was due to the condition advanced by the North Korean side. According to representatives of the IAEA, the North Korean side's condition was a politically colored one and was beyond the authority of the IAEA. The main point of the condition was that if U.S. nuclear weapons were withdrawn from South Korea, Pyongyang would open its nuclear facilities to the IAEA for international nuclear inspection.

The DPRK's concern in connection with the allegation that there are nuclear weapons on the ROK territory is generally understandable. However, it is self-evident that this important issue has nothing to do with the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and with the duties related to the treaty. The artificial linking of the two issues have created additional obstacles to improving the situation on the Korean peninsula.

Now that the DPRK has decided to drop its condition, many observers see that this decision of North Korea is closely related to North Korea's recent decision to enter the United Nations. The DPRK will sign an agreement with the IAEA this September at a meeting of the IAEA Council. After this, an international inspection of nuclear facilities in North Korea will be conducted. We can expect that Pyongyang's decision will be conducive not only to strengthening trust in international relations, but also to developing dialogue between Pyongyang and Tokyo and between Pyongyang and Washington.

Ochirbat Thanks Gorbachev for Greetings

LD2307172591 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak
Network in Russian 1000 GMT 23 Jul 91

[Text] Mongolian President Ochirbat has sent Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev a telegram in which, on behalf of the Mongolian people and himself, he expressed his sincere gratitude for the cordial greetings and good wishes on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Mongolian people's revolution.

Newspaper Established for Soviets in Mongolia

LD2307103191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak
Network in Russian 0830 GMT 23 Jul 91

[Text] Three Soviet enthusiasts have established a regular news bulletin PANORAMA NEDELI [PANORAMA OF THE WEEK] for Soviet citizens working in Mongolia. Earlier, the International Book Association had been unable to deliver Soviet newspapers and magazines to Mongolia because of the changeover to hard

currency between the former socialist countries. The new newspaper PANORAMA NEDELI will in effect be the only source of news from home. The inspiration for it came from the party committee of the Soviet institutions in Mongolia and the NOVOSTI INFORMATION AGENCY office in Ulaanbaatar.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Maslyukov Visits Indonesia 21-24 Jul

LD2407165691 Moscow TASS in English 1140 GMT
24 Jul 91

[Text] Djakarta July 24 TASS—Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Yuri Maslyukov was on an official visit in Indonesia from 21 to 24 [as received]. He was received by President Suharto and handed over to him a message from Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

During a substantive conversation Maslyukov informed the head of the Indonesian state of the tasks which the Soviet people are confronted at the present stage of the country's and society's renewal. In his turn, Suharto spoke about the Indonesian leaders' efforts to ensure the implementation of the national development programmes.

The conversation centred on bilateral relations. The sides confirmed the readiness to continue to act in the spirit of arrangements reached during the summit in Moscow in September 1989, first of all the statement on the basic principles of friendly relations and cooperation between the USSR and Indonesia that was signed by Gorbachev and Suharto.

Regarding the world situation, the sides expressed a common viewpoint on the positive character of large-scale changes connected with the transfer from confrontation and the cold war to the quest for the road of mutual understanding and constructive interaction. The parties noted with satisfaction that these favourable tendencies begin to spread to the Asia-Pacific region.

The conversation passed in the atmosphere of constructiveness and mutual understanding characteristic for present Soviet-Indonesian relations.

Maslyukov had negotiations with Radius Prawiro, Minister-coordinator for the economy, finance, industry and development supervision. The negotiators expressed satisfaction with the fact that bilateral Soviet-Indonesian relations become more dynamic and are being filled with specific content. Business people develop greater interest in the widening of contacts, in the quest for new forms of cooperation in various areas.

The sides confirmed the governments' interest in the continued development and perfection of Soviet-Indonesian political dialogue, in promoting the widening of versatile ties between the two countries, in building up mutually advantageous trade and economic exchange and making it more scopeful and effective.

It was noted that favourable conditions are created for this by the implementation of reforms in the Soviet Union, the forthcoming signing of a Union treaty and the Soviet Union's integration into the world economy.

When the international situational was discussed, Maslyukov and Prawiro noted the coincidence or similarity of the two countries' stances on the key problems of the present. It was noted with satisfaction that the tendency towards the establishment of a fair and humane world order, the transition from confrontation to interaction, real steps towards disarmament and settling of conflicts by peaceful means is being established in the world.

The sides unanimously declared in support of the further consolidation of Soviet-Indonesian interaction at various international forums.

During the exchange of opinions about the situation in the Asia-Pacific region, they welcomed the tendencies towards pooling the efforts aimed at the establishment of constructive inter-state relations in the Asia-Pacific region, and joint solution of the existing problems.

Before taking a plane for home Maslyukov, answering questions from TASS correspondents Aleksey Petrov and Georgi Shmelev, expressed satisfaction with the results of the visit during which special attention was given to the development of commercial and economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and Indonesia.

"On a political level, we have succeeded in pooling the efforts with Indonesia in the solution of a number of questions, including settlement of the Cambodian problem, and in establishing cooperation with Asean countries and with other countries of the Asia-Pacific region. In the economic area, our ties are not developed enough and there are untapped possibilities for joint work".

Maslyukov said that a number of trends of possible cooperation had been outlined during the negotiations. They include the areas of space exploration, high-tech, electronics, as well as the setting up of joint ventures. A first large contract for the delivery to the Soviet Union of Indonesian consumer goods had also been signed. About 100 million dollars worth of consumer goods are to be delivered to the Soviet Union before the end of the year, Maslyukov said.

Specific questions of commercial and economic cooperation would be discussed at a meeting of the mixed Soviet-Indonesian commission in Djakarta in October. The ways of its further development would be outlined, he said.

Indonesian Minister of Industry Hartarto told TASS that at present there were broad opportunities for the development of bilateral trade and economic relations, among them cooperation in electronics and other industries, including the setting up of joint ventures. He expressed

the confidence that business ties of Indonesian entrepreneurs with Soviet partners would continue to strengthen in the interests of widening mutually advantageous cooperation between the two countries.

Returns from Indonesia

LD2407185491 Moscow TASS in English 1736 GMT
24 Jul 91

[by correspondent Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Moscow July 24 TASS—Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Yuriy Maslyukov today returned to Moscow upon ending his four-day official visit to Jakarta at the invitation of the Indonesian government.

During his visit, Maslyukov met President Suharto of Indonesia and conveyed President Mikhail Gorbachev's personal message to him. Maslyukov held talks with heads of ministries and business circles and discussed and prospects for the development of trade and economic cooperation between the two countries.

Soviet Participation in ASEAN Meeting Noted

PM2407153991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Jul 91 Second Edition p 6

[Report by correspondent P. Tsvetov: "Our First Step in ASEAN"]

[Excerpts] Kuala Lumpur, 21 Jul—[passage omitted] The 24th annual meeting of ASEAN foreign ministers has been held in Kuala Lumpur. It will be followed by the now-traditional meeting of the "six" and the seven partners in dialogue. [passage omitted]

An event of particular importance at the Kuala Lumpur meeting was the attendance of delegations from the Soviet Union and China as guests. Our delegation was headed by Yu.D. Maslyukov, Soviet deputy prime minister, while the Chinese delegation was headed by PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen. This is the first official contact between the great Pacific powers and ASEAN as a single organization. The ASEAN foreign ministers assessed this as yet another result of new political thinking and the start of a new chapter in the development of relations between the Asia-Pacific countries—a chapter which will pave the way to the expansion of intraregional cooperation.

Many observers explain the invitation to the Soviet Union and China to attend as guests by citing economic interest. This is of course the case. Entrepreneurs from the Southeast Asian countries see the USSR and the PRC as colossal markets for consumer goods. Both powers too are interested in expanding ties with the ASEAN countries—and not just because of their consumer goods. Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, and Bangkok are becoming recognized centers of modern technology.

There is also a definite political reason for inviting Soviet and Chinese representatives to the meeting. The

modern world order requires more and more mutual understanding and, consequently, mutual contacts. Many people in the region recognize that Southeast Asia's future is inconceivable in isolation from the Soviet Union and China. Just as in trade ASEAN does not want to restrict its export opportunities, so in politics it clearly has no plans to agree to the Pacific being somebody's "lake."

The Soviet Union and the PRC have not yet been granted the status of full parties to the dialogue. This is not because somebody is categorically opposed to it. I think that both the hosts and the guests are not yet ready for this, since they are insufficiently aware of each other's potential. There are other reasons too.

Opening the meeting, Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamed said: "ASEAN and China, just like ASEAN and the Soviet Union, have now decided to get around the negotiating table together. The ideological barriers between us are a thing of the past. However, we still have to overcome a psychological barrier. Let us work together to ensure that relations between us become more fruitful in the interests of peace and cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region." [passage omitted]

The Soviet delegation headed by Yu.D. Maslyukov left Kuala Lumpur for Jakarta today.

Commentator Supports Japan's Security Forum Idea

BK2507034291 Moscow Radio Moscow in Indonesian
1300 GMT 24 Jul 91

[By Aleksey Nikolayev]

[Text] Speaking at the meeting between ASEAN foreign ministers and their dialogue partners in Kuala Lumpur, Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama called for multilateral dialogues on security issues in the Asia-Pacific region. It is most likely the call was made because Tokyo wants to play a greater political role in the region and remove all lingering doubts over Japan's military ambition since the World War Two.

However, the proposal undoubtedly has a rational basis. It is no coincidence that other participants of the Kuala Lumpur meeting have basically welcomed Nakayama's proposal. At the moment, it is not yet clear how discussions on Asia-Pacific security should be conducted as well as what countries should be included in the discussions.

The KYODO news agency quoted ASEAN foreign ministers as saying that it is useless to turn the annual meeting between ASEAN foreign ministers and their dialogue partners into a security forum, which may lead to the emergence of other issues in their discussions. While the U.S. delegation more or less agreed with the ASEAN stand, the Australian and Canadian delegations supported Nakayama's proposal. A Canadian woman delegate had even correctly proposed the participation of

the Soviet Union, the PRC, and Indochinese countries in a future regional forum to discuss security issues.

This proposal is logical in view of the idea to upgrade the Soviet Union and the PRC into ASEAN's full-fledged dialogue partners. It is also correct because Moscow has for a long time called for multilateral discussions to solve security problems in Asia and the Pacific Ocean. Speaking in Vladivostok five years ago, Mikhail Gorbachev called on countries in this region to jointly seek ways to safeguard peace, security, and cooperation. This proposal was developed and translated into action in Krasnoyarsk, which was then followed by the Soviet leader's talks in Beijing and Tokyo. The leaders of Japan and several other countries, however, took a long time to react to the Soviet proposal. But now, as can be seen clearly from Nakayama's remarks in Kuala Lumpur, the idea of multilateral discussions on security issues in the Asia-Pacific has finally won recognition.

Rogachev Comments on Beijing Talks on Cambodia

PM2407155391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
23 Jul 91 Union Edition p 7

[Report by Yu. Savenkov: "Khmers Engage in Dialogue. Prospects for Cambodian Settlement"]

[Excerpts] Beijing—As has already been reported, Prince Norodom Sihanouk has been elected chairman of the Cambodian Supreme National Council (SNC). The final communique of the Beijing session of the Council describes him as a politician capable of bringing the country to national reconciliation and of accelerating the process of reviving an "independent, sovereign, peaceful, neutral, nonaligned, and united Cambodia." [passage omitted]

What is the view of I. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, who headed the Soviet delegation at the Beijing session of the "big five" (the cochairmen of the Paris Conference and a representative of the UN secretary general took part in it too)?

"I can talk about the mood prevailing among the 'five,'" I. Rogachev said. "We have noticed a major improvement in the Cambodian settlement process since the Jakarta and Pattaya sessions. This time questions which had long divided the Khmer sides were settled in a spirit of national harmony. The election of Sihanouk as chairman—not as head of the opposition but as a leader adopting a neutral position—is very substantive."

As is well known, the plan for settling the Cambodia problem, which was prepared last year by the five permanent members of the Security Council, has been approved in principle by the opposing sides but has still not been signed. There are three key questions which give rise to doubts among the Cambodian Government: the military aspects of a comprehensive political settlement, sovereignty (how functions will be divided between the SNC and the temporary UN administration, as well as between the Phnom Penh government and the

opposition forces), and human rights (how to prevent a revival of the genocidal regime in Cambodia). Were these elements of the key problems discussed in Beijing?

"Both the Cambodian sides and the 'five' touched on them," I. Rogachev said. "We are seeking compromise. UN Deputy Secretary General R. Ahmed (who took part in both sessions in Beijing) has some interesting ideas on this subject, but let's not rush matters. The discussion will continue in Bangkok in August."

The most important achievement, in Rogachev's view is that a dialogue has been initiated between the Khmers and will be deepened in months to come. Here is the last example: N. Sihanouk will invite Hun Sen to the DPRK, where the prince has yet another residence. And the improvement of relations between them is a prerequisite for moving forward the entire settlement process.

How does the Soviet deputy foreign minister view China's role in the quest for ways to settle the conflict?

"China advocates the speediest settlement of this protracted conflict on the basis of national reconciliation," I. Rogachev believes. "We should not look backward or settle old scores. Mutual concessions are needed—that is the Chinese position. I think this is a rational and pragmatic approach."

Further on Talks

PM2407124591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 Jul 91 Second Edition p 6

[Viktor Pritula "Viewpoint": "Cambodia: A Step Closer to Peace"]

[Text] Among last week's events, and the main one was undoubtedly the meeting of the "big seven" in London, the dialogue in Beijing between the opposing Cambodian sides took third place when viewed against the background of the tragic confrontation of the Yugoslav republics. Nevertheless, the results of the session of the Cambodian Supreme National Council [SNC] and the meeting of representatives of the UN Security Council's permanent members plus Indonesia and France as cochairmen of the Paris international conference on Cambodia, which ended in the Chinese capital "exceeded all expectations," in the words of Prince Sihanouk.

The former Cambodian monarch and long-time opposition leader, it seems, is soon to take up the reins of power in the SNC again. Sihanouk's election to the top post of chairman of the SNC, a question which was torpedoed several times by the opposing sides, generated even a certain euphoria in journalistic circles to the point that the AFP correspondent reported: "Sihanouk is the most likely head of the future Cambodia."

I do not want to rush into any predictions but I do not intend to diminish in the slightest Sihanouk's role in the process of achieving peace in Cambodia. The prince is a generally recognized political figure who contributed to

the creation of the Nonaligned Movement and was among its founders together with Nehru and Tito. Unfortunately, the 12 years of civil war in Cambodia did not win him any laurels and his cooperation with the Khmers Rouges discredited his name to a certain extent. But tribute should be paid to Sihanouk, because the serious and important compromises of recent meetings in Pattaya and Beijing were achieved largely thanks to his efforts.

I would remind readers that Prince Sihanouk was among those who restored Cambodia's independence during the fifties. His consistent course toward the country's neutrality aroused U.S. discontent during the years of the intervention in Indochina, which in turn led to the U.S.-inspired coup d'etat in Cambodia in March 1970. Now, 21 years after those tragic events for the country, Cambodians have finally regained their hope of returning to the peaceful path of history.

I would like to share the confidence of my AFP colleagues, but I repeat that it is too soon to make predictions. The situation in Cambodia is so uncertain that it could revert to a path of confrontation at any moment. There are too many weapons in the country, weapons which fire, as we all know, and during the meeting in Beijing there was no substantial progress on the question of concluding a cease-fire agreement. Meanwhile, military clashes in Cambodia are occurring here and there.

Nevertheless, the inter-Khmer dialogue in Beijing did take place. A single Cambodian delegation headed by Sihanouk has been formed for the upcoming UN General Assembly session. It is noteworthy that Hun Sen, head of the Government of the State of Cambodia, and Foreign Minister Hor Nam Hong will participate in it for the first time. No less remarkable, in my view, is the Chinese side's invitation to Hun Sen to visit Beijing 22-24 July. China's positive role in the cause of a Cambodian settlement on the basis of national reconciliation was also shown in the statement on ending weapons supplies to the Khmers Rouges. And I should also like to note that the representatives of the Khmer Rouge faction on the SNC, it seems to me, are taking a more constructive stance than in the past. Clearly, they too have understood that only national reconciliation will enable them to take their place in the future peaceful, neutral, and prosperous Cambodia.

Rogachev Calls for Cooperation With Indonesia

BK2407142691 Moscow Radio Moscow in Indonesian
1300 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Text] The Soviet Union calls for the development of mutually advantageous multifaceted cooperation with Indonesia. This was stated by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev during an interview with Soviet and Indonesian newsmen yesterday. The Soviet delegation, which arrived in Indonesia following the Kuala Lumpur talks, and Indonesian officials have discussed

the possibility of concretely enhancing economic cooperation between the two countries. They also discussed political cooperation bilaterally as well as within the ASEAN context.

Igor Rogachev expressed the hope that the Soviet-ASEAN dialogue which began in Kuala Lumpur would be further developed.

South China Sea Territory Issue Viewed

OW2007224491 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin
0900 GMT 20 Jul 91

[Nikolayev commentary; from the "Asian Affairs" program]

[Text] Dear listeners: An international symposium was held in Bandung, Indonesia, to discuss the territorial issue in the South China Sea as well as cooperation in the area. The symposium was attended by delegations from ASEAN countries, China, Vietnam, Laos, and the Taiwan authorities. Our observer Nikolayev has the following comments on the results of this symposium:

I have to mention that the question here is a long-standing issue on the sovereignty over a group of islands in the South China Sea involving nine littoral Asian countries. Westerners call these islands the Spratly Archipelago, while the Asian countries concerned each have their own names. The People's Republic of China, Vietnam, Malaysia, the Philippines, Brunei, and the Taiwan authorities all claim sovereignty over some of the islands, and all except Brunei have troops stationed there. Generally speaking, settlement of territorial disputes is a very difficult task requiring great patience and time. At times, arguments may last a very long time, but with very little result. Disputes over the islands in the South China Sea is exactly such an issue.

From a different point of view, it is clearly unjustifiable to view this area as a potential place where international conflicts will break out. In particular, at this time, the possibility of reconciliation of the Cambodian issue has increased, and a general trend of healthy development of the situation has appeared in the area. Accordingly, the participants in the Bandung symposium tried to find a way to extricate themselves from the predicament. Moreover, wishing to see the settlement of the territorial disputes in the South China Sea are not only those directly involved in the disputes, but also their neighboring countries, which, for apparent reasons, are deeply concerned about the issue. It should be noted that the discussions at the symposium were successful. A major achievement of the Bandung symposium is that all participants agreed that no force be used to settle the disputes, but stood for continued dialogues. Of particular importance is that they proposed that diversified cooperation be conducted in that area. In particular, the symposium discussed plans for joint economic development of the disputed islands. The Chinese and Vietnamese delegates made specific proposals for various countries to develop cooperative projects in the South

China Sea, including projects of environmental protection and navigation. Of course, these projects have as yet to be carried out, but it is clear now that such a development method has a very good prospect.

Incidentally, I wish to point out that Indonesia, the sponsor of the symposium, and Australia have shown the following fact to the people of the world: Early this year, Jakarta and Canberra started implementing their bilateral agreement on joint exploitation of natural resources, including oil and natural gas, in the disputed Timor Sea. For a long time, this exploitation task had been held in abeyance due to their differences on the territorial issue. Now, even though the differences have not been solved, the governments of the two countries have drawn up conditions for cooperation acceptable and beneficial to both sides.

Our observer Nikolayev concluded: As far as I can see, in principle, this experience is applicable not only to littoral countries of the South China Sea, but also to all other countries plagued by territorial issues.

Near East & South Asia

Official Interviewed on Middle East

OW2507013591 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1500 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "The idea of a peace conference in the Middle East looks more real today than ever before. In the Soviet Union it is hoped that no more difficulties arise before it is convened," stated a Soviet foreign ministry official responsible for Middle Eastern affairs. In his interview to "DP" [Diplomatic Panorama] he gave some details of the joint efforts of Soviet and American diplomats, providing for peace process through convening a conference on the Middle East problem reconciliation.

The joint Soviet-American efforts. The Arabs' position

According to the information from the Middle East countries which the American State-Secretary J. Baker visited the Arab participants in the conflict agree with the Soviet-American ideas concerning the format and the structure of a peace conference on the Middle East. According to one diplomat, it confirms in particular the Syrian President's Hafiz al-Asad answer to the Soviet President's Mikhail Gorbachev appeal regarding the importance of using favourable conditions, present after the end of the Gulf Crisis, and to start all-out negotiations as soon as possible. The Syrian leader in his answer to the Soviet President's appeal appreciated very highly the Soviet-American initiative in realising advances towards a peace conference and he completely agreed to take part in that conference.

The diplomat said that among the factors which were most favourable for a movement towards the conference was the factor that some Arab countries, including Egypt

and Saudi Arabia, were ready as a sign of confidence to suspend their economic boycott of Israel if the latter suspended its settlement activities in the Occupied Arab Territories. So as the Soviet Foreign ministry official said the approach of the potential Arab participants of the conference contributed much to its convocation.

Israel's position

Commenting on Israel's position the diplomat said that Tel Aviv has not yet given clear and definite consent to the peace conference, and to all the details decided by the joint Soviet-American initiative. But at the same time Israel has not given a negative answer. This, according to the diplomat, provides basis for the hope that the idea of a peace conference can be at last become a reality.

Unsolved problems

According to an employee of the Soviet Foreign Ministry a lot of problems lie ahead, between now and the conference: Amongst which he singled out Israel's definite agreement to participate in the conference and the form of the Palestinian representation. The USSR believes that the Palestinians and Arabs should solve the last problem themselves. Any conclusion which they can reach will be acceptable to us, emphasised the diplomat.

"As well as this," continued the diplomat, "at the present stage and bearing all factors in mind the best option would be participation in the conference by a joint Jordanian Palestinian delegation. The majority of potential participants in the conference hold a very similar point of view." According to the diplomat the UN's [as received] position is being at present discussed in detail at its HQ in Tunis.

Possible time restriction on conference

The diplomat said it was a real possibility that the peace conference could take place within the next few months on the condition that the remaining problem are solved. According to him time restrictions on the conference are very tight. It will probably be called at the end of this year or at the latest at the beginning of next year (January or February). After this problems might arise connected with the heightening of the American presidential campaign. As a rule U.S. political interests in the Middle East freeze up during this period. According to the diplomat this is the best reason to gather up strength to solve the remaining problems.

Palestine Delegation's Moscow Visit Aims

LD2407200391 Moscow Radio Moscow in Arabic
1400 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Text] Dear listeners, the Palestine National Council [PNC] delegation, currently in Moscow on an official visit, today commences its talks with the leaders of the Soviet parliament and government. On their arrival in Moscow, our correspondent, Oleg Nikolayev met them:

[Begin recording] [Nikolayev] Mr. [name indistinct], first of all there is the traditional and natural question about the aims of your visit to the Soviet Union.

[PNC member] As you know, the Palestinian delegation which arrived in Moscow yesterday came at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The PNC sent us on its behalf, first of all to conduct a dialogue with our colleagues of the USSR Supreme Soviet and perhaps of other Supreme Soviets and also with the Soviet officials about issues of mutual interest. As you know, we at the PNC, similar to the USSR Supreme Soviet, draw up general policies of the PLO. The PNC is the legislative council of the Palestinian people, the highest legislative authority.

With our colleagues of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which represents the Soviet peoples and hence participates in drawing up the Soviet policies, first of all we would like to discuss the development of the amicable relations between the two peoples; the development of political relations between the two peoples; and to continue to discover the problems and solutions of importance to both sides.

As you know, first of all we, the Palestinian people, are struggling for the right to self-determination. We express this struggle today by the great intifadah on the West Bank and Gaza Strip against the Israeli occupation, which has now continued in the bank and strip since the occupation of the territories in 1967. This struggle is also represented by the political struggle in many parts of the world in developing international policies which support the demands of the Palestinian people to achieve self-determination; to establish the Palestinian state; to complete our sovereignty on the Palestinian territories; and to end the Israeli occupation of the bank and strip.

As you and the whole world knows, the Soviet Union is first of all a large state and has its status in the world. Also its thinking, tendencies and attitude are important in the international community. Fortunately the Soviet Union has supported the Palestinian people since ancient times. This is a fact. The Soviet Union supported the Palestinian people's right to self-determination in 1947, which led to the resolution of partition. The Soviet Union has also supported the international resolutions which constitute the groundwork for the international legitimacy to solve the Arab-Israeli conflict, which are UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338. The Soviet Union's support for the Palestinian people's right to self-determination since the late 1960's and the 1970's has been a firm resolution. We, the Palestinian people with our national institutions, appreciate this stance of the Soviet Union. It is quite natural to remain in continuous contact with Soviet officials in order to find solutions for the problems which might stem from the peace process.

Therefore this is an opportunity for the PNC to probe for new attitudes in the light of the new developments in the Soviet Union, and to express what we think to our

colleagues of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and to discover their stance and discuss the existing problems. [end recording]

Call for Iraqi Compliance With Resolutions

LD2407145291 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service
in English 1210 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Commentary by Yuriy Solton]

[Text] July 25th is the deadline for America's ultimatum to Iraq. If by that time Baghdad does not give full information about its nuclear programs, the United States is free to take any action against it, including a military one. And here is what Radio Moscow news analyst Yuriy Solton writes:

It's hard to predict the course of future events. The Iraqi officials keep saying that they have told the United States everything about their nuclear potential and have nothing more to add. But these statements can't be fully trusted. They were made before too, and each time they turned out to be a deceit. Equipment for producing enriched uranium, which is needed to make a nuclear bomb, has been hidden in new places and inspectors of the International Atomic Energy Agency have been misled. Three groups of them have already been to Iraq, but even today they can't say anything for sure about its nuclear potential.

The American space intelligence, on its part, asserts that Baghdad has a very considerable nuclear potential and it seems that the Americans believe they have a free hand to act. But this doesn't of course mean that a military strike will be hit at Iraq already the day after tomorrow. However, President Bush has already approved the list of several dozens of targets on Iraqi territory which could be attacked. General Norman Schwarzkopf, the commander of the United States armed forces belonging to the Central Command, said he was ready to head the troops if President Bush gives the order to strike at Iraq. The President himself has already secured the support of Great Britain, France, and a number of other countries. At the coming meeting with President Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow he is believed to raise the question about the attitude of the Soviet Union towards the nuclear potential of Saddam Husayn.

But of course, any strike at Iraq—even the most limited one—can seriously complicate the situation in the Gulf region. And the plight of the Iraqis at present is such that even the United States, though it is very much against Saddam Husayn, intends to present soon a draft resolution in the United Nations Security Council on easing economic sanctions against Iraq. On the other hand, Saddam Husayn, who only recently threatened to use weapons of mass destruction, should not be allowed to resume his military nuclear programs. The United Nations Security Council should be firm and should make Baghdad carry out the resolutions to which Saddam Husayn has publicly agreed.

Political Solution To Tamil Issue Urged

BK2407071991 Moscow Radio Moscow in Tamil
1500 GMT 23 Jul 91

[Commentary by Yevgeniy Nikolayev]

[Text] An AFP dispatch from Colombo says the Liberation Tigers Tamil Eelam [LTTE], who are fighting to set up a national government in the northeast, have formed their own cabinet. Our commentator Yevgeniy Nikolayev writes:

This LTTE move may intensify the ethnic conflict that has been continuing for the past several years in Sri Lanka. At the same time, this step cannot be construed as unexpected. Recent events indicate that opportunities in finding a political solution to the conflict are being lost. On the one side, the LTTE is not prepared to budge on the issue and on the other, the stands of moderate Tamil groups aspiring to win autonomy in the predominantly Tamil northeastern province has been weakened.

It is obvious that the Colombo government does not want to give absolute autonomy to the Northeastern Province. After the dissolution of the northeastern provincial administration a year ago, fighting erupted between government forces and LTTE militants. In this battle, government forces used aircraft and heavy artillery units. A number of peaceful Tamils living in the villages and cities have become victims of this brutality. The attempt by government troops to use force to resolve the Tamil issue has led to the LTTE stepping up their resistance. Thus the conflict has been intensified.

It should be noted that the northeastern part of Sri Lanka has been severed from the economic lifeline of the country during these years of conflict. Its trade links with other provinces have been shattered. The northeastern province did not participate in the parliamentary elections, nor is it represented in the government. All these things, in a big way, hinder the efforts to resolve the crisis.

Afghanistan Protests Pakistani Interference

LD2307154191 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service
in English 1210 GMT 23 Jul 91

[Text] Afghanistan has appealed to the United Nations secretary general requesting him to help prevent the escalation of Pakistani military interference in the Afghan conflict. The Afghan foreign minister, Abdul Wakil, who signed the letter, enumerates areas where the Pakistani military intend to interfere. One of the places is the town of Gardeyz. Does this mean that the internal conflict in Afghanistan might develop into Afghan-Pakistani armed confrontation? This question is answered by Aleksey Kondratyev:

I don't think that Islamabad is going to take such a reckless step as direct armed aggression against Afghanistan. It prefers to resort to other methods—to organize the operations of the Afghan Mujahedin and carry them

out with involvement of Pakistani advisors and so-called volunteers. The developments in Khowst, captured by extremists at the end of last March the beginning of April, can serve as an example. The Afghan side declared then that it had irrefutable evidence that the offensive was carried out under the direct command of Pakistani generals. Evidently, something of the kind is now being planned for Gardeyz and other Afghan towns.

It is quite clear that Islamabad's actions trample on the Geneva accords for Afghanistan. These accords are directed against stopping the fratricidal war of Afghans through political compromise on the basis of a balance of interests of the conflicting sides. It must be said that legal barriers were agreed at the international conference in Geneva. These barriers were supposed to rule out the interference of Pakistan and Afghanistan in each other's internal affairs. International guarantees were given preventing such interference. It seems that the Pakistani leadership, especially amongst the military circles, do not intend to follow the letter and spirit of the Geneva accords. Moreover, by its military interference in Afghanistan they can actually reduce to nought the efforts of the international community to settle the Afghan problem.

It is absolutely clear that the planned military operations torpedo UN proposals concerning Afghanistan—proposals directed at a compromise between the conflicting Afghan sides with the purpose of starting an inter-Afghan dialogue.

If new military operations start in Afghanistan with Pakistani involvement, the scale of the Afghan war will inevitable grow. Such a course of developments should be prevented. Otherwise the logic of military actions itself, irrespective of Islamabad's will, will lead to the expansion of the conflict to such a scale that it will spread to the Afghan-Pakistani border. The world community should most seriously regard the appeal of Afghanistan to the United Nations and do its utmost to prevent a new round of war in this long-suffering Afghanistan.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Trade Agreement Signed With South Africa

LD2407075491 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 0608 GMT 24 Jul 91

[By correspondent Yuriy Pichugin]

[Text] Harare, 24 Jul—An agreement on cooperation was signed in Johannesburg on Tuesday between the USSR Chamber of Trade and Industry and the RSA [Republic of South Africa] Chamber of Business, as well as a number of other trade organizations of South Africa.

As the South African Press Agency SAPA has reported, the document proposes establishing an effective infrastructure and the working out of a practical mechanism

for mutually advantageous entrepreneurial activity, the establishment of direct contacts, and the inauguration of joint enterprises in various spheres of the economy. The document also provides for the opening of representations of the chambers in both countries and the formation of a bilateral business council. The holding of symposiums, seminars, and conferences for a regular exchange of information between the trading partners is planned.

The agreement was signed by V.K. Malkevich, chairman of the USSR Chamber of Trade and Industry, who is on a visit to South Africa, and by the leaders of three South African organizations. Malkevich termed the signing of the document "a historic event", giving "a green light" to the development of business contacts between the two countries. John Hall, the president of the South African Chamber of Business, emphasized that enormous changes have taken place over the last year and a half in the USSR and in South Africa, and that it is necessary to make a careful study of and make use of the possibilities emerging for broadening mutually beneficial cooperation.

Commentary Views Government Funding of Inkatha

MB2407121991 Moscow Radio Moscow in Afrikaans
1700 GMT 23 Jul 91

[Commentary by Aleksey (Jervinov)—read by announcer]

[Text] The scandal surrounding the South African Government's illegal funding of the Inkatha Freedom Party is still receiving attention. Aleksey (Jervinov) comments:

The euphoria which followed the lifting of economic sanctions against South Africa has been replaced by a serious crisis facing the South African community. Inkathagate, the term used by the local mass media to describe the scandal surrounding the covert funding of Inkatha by the South African Government, is threatening to spark a new wave of violence.

President De Klerk is expected to issue a statement soon. Observers are of the opinion that despite explanations from spokesmen of the ruling National Party, saying that no changes will be made in the cabinet, they do expect a few heads to roll. The names of Ministers Adriaan Vlok and Magnus Malan feature prominently in this respect. It is clear from the published documents that their names are directly linked to Inkathagate and they are therefore responsible for violence in the country.

One should take into account that the African National Congress [ANC] has been calling for the resignation of these two ministers for a long time. The ANC repeated this call after an emergency meeting of its National Working Committee. The ANC issued five other demands and called on the members of the Defense Force to do their civil duty and expose all information concerning covert operations in the country. The leader of the ANC Nelson Mandela, presently on an overseas

tour, announced that it is impossible to continue talks with the government under present conditions.

The ANC also emphasized that the Inkatha affair coincides with De Klerk's policy of Divide and rule. In this way he can maintain white minority rule. (Jervinov) emphasizes that the ANC call for President De Klerk's resignation was not repeated at the meeting of the National Working Committee. (Jervinov) believes that in doing this the ANC displays understanding of the situation. The ANC feels that Inkathagate is an excuse to take the country back into the pre-De Klerk era.

The radical Pan-Africanist Congress [PAC] and even several centrist organizations and leaders demanded the resignation of President De Klerk. Their call is motivated by different, yet understandable reasons. (Jervinov) believes, however, that the campaign against De Klerk will be welcomed by the opponents of reform in South Africa.

Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi still maintains that he has in no way collaborated with South Africa's defense force and that he was completely unaware of cash injections received by his party. Mr. Buthelezi, who was reelected to the post of Inkatha chairman on Sunday [21 July], declared: If there are people who think that the future of the country can be determined without the participation of Mangosuthu Buthelezi, then they should have their heads examined. He repeated that he plans to play a leading role in negotiations with the government. The Zulu leader addressed his followers on the latest scandal and said: I know that you are angry about the unfounded allegations against our party. I feel the same.

In light of these developments, many observers are reviewing the history of Inkatha, from the time the racist regime of P.W. Botha supported Buthelezi in his struggle to gain control of Inkatha above his brother (Msileli). When the ANC was waging its war against apartheid and its leaders were locked up, Inkatha and its leaders flourished despite a few calls for equality in the country. Buthelezi, in his capacity as head of the KwaZulu Bantustan, had the most direct contact with the South African Government and the security forces.

Recent opinion polls indicate that if a general election had to be held in South Africa only about two percent of the population would vote for Inkatha while the ANC would get more than 50 percent of the votes. Therefore, even though the people implicated in the Inkathagate scandal attempt to cover up their involvement, the illegal financing of the Zulu organization was meant to strengthen Inkatha so that it would serve as an opposition movement to the ANC. These old methods proved to be to the detriment of the South African Government.

(Jervinov) mentions once again that the political scandal is threatening to erupt into a bloodbath. This will be a serious blow, not only to South Africa but also to the rest of the world. (Jervinov) further says that it is important for the country to find a solution to the crisis by reaching a sensible compromise.

Lessons of Angolan Debt Default Pondered

PM2407095991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
22 Jul 91 Union Edition p 4

[Commentary by V.N. Kumachev, candidate of economic sciences and scientific associate of the USSR Academy of Sciences World Economics and International Relations Institute; first three paragraphs are introduction: "Will We Receive Our Dues?"]

[Text] Recently TASS sent the following report from Luanda: Angola intends to ask the Soviet Union to write off its debts under military credits and also to reschedule the repayment of remaining debts for 100 years. This was reported by the newspaper JORNAL DE ANGOLA.

Given the topicality of the theme, the editorial office asked for an explanation from the competent department—the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations Engineering Main Administration, which deals with military deliveries. However, a spokesman for the Engineering Main Administration leadership politely declined our request, citing the delicate nature of the problem.

The editorial office cannot share this viewpoint. In our opinion, the USSR's relations with a number of friendly African states have entered an impasse recently precisely because questions of the provision of aid to them were resolved in secret and without the participation of parliament or representatives of the public. We asked V.N. Kumachev, candidate of economic sciences and scientific associate of the USSR Academy of Sciences World Economics and International Relations Institute, to comment on the report from Angola.

In principle the rescheduling of debts and the partial writing off of them are not a new phenomenon in world practice. In appropriate circumstances, the United States, France, the FRG, and other industrially developed countries resort to write off debts for individual Third World states. But obviously not everyone can permit themselves a "fine gesture" like wiping out just anybody's debt—at the very least, you need to be quite solvent yourself for this. It is precisely this that cannot be said of our country at the moment: We ourselves are engaged in a quest for funds—and considerable funds—in order to get out of the extremely grave economic situation.

It is no longer a secret that debts to our country like Angola's are a consequence of one of the worst thought-out and most ruinous trends in recent USSR foreign policy, which pursued the aim of securing virtually a global Soviet military presence throughout the world.

Until recently this theme was taboo, although the foreign press gave exhaustive information in this sphere. The first official report on foreign states' debts to us appeared in our press in March of last year as a reply to a deputy's question. The Finance Ministry estimated the total outstanding debt—not just Angola, but also Iraq, Vietnam,

Ethiopia, Syria, and so on—at approximately 86 billion rubles (admittedly, it is not clear what kind of rubles and what they are worth in Angola, but this is not the point). This same question was also constantly raised during the tour of African countries, including Angola, by a USSR Foreign Ministry delegation headed by former Minister E.A. Shevardnadze. We estimate Angola's debt at several billion dollars, much of which represents military credits. This is not surprising as, according to figures from Western observers, over the last decade we supplied Angola annually with military hardware worth \$1-1.5 billion, which represented the lion's share of the country's total imports (sometimes as much as 90 percent).

It should be noted that, according to estimates available in the West, we have received payment for no more than 30-40 percent of the last decade's total arms sales (including to former Warsaw Pact countries), which were worth between \$110 and \$120 billion. This situation prompts reflections regarding the need, first, to elaborate a rational concept for selling weapons in contemporary conditions, and, second, to firmly link it to the new character of East-West relations.

For many years we engaged in stepping up military confrontation with Western countries in regions which were a zone of their economic and political interest. In following this line, Moscow often failed to consider the nature of the regimes and the aims of the purchaser countries. Their anti-Western orientation was a sufficient condition. Our overall efforts found expression in the fact that for many years the USSR occupied the position of greatest exporter of arms and military hardware (over one-third of total world deliveries). Moreover, the overwhelming proportion of deliveries were made without particular hopes of payment merely in order to bind the leadership of these states more closely to our then military-political course.

Life showed that this policy with regard to developing countries proved untenable. There is no need to look far for examples: Apart from the crippling civil war in Angola, the presence of our weapons played a pernicious role in Iraq and Ethiopia.

In today's deeply interdependent world, it is becoming increasingly clear that the problem of deliveries of arms and military hardware to countries in the developing world demands coordinated action by the main producer countries, including the USSR. We should be realistic and acknowledge that, unfortunately, the problem of the security of both individual countries and the world is insoluble in general without a military component. The most important thing is what that component should be and what generally recognized aims and tasks it should fulfill. Obviously, it can also have a destabilizing character. Regions which are saturated with arms and military hardware—especially modern equipment—are explosive merely because of the high concentration of arms.

Some ways of resolving this problem are outlined in the proposals discussed at the Paris meeting of representatives of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council. In particular, there is talk of regulating arms deliveries.

But with regard to our affairs, the appeal from Angola suggests primarily the following thoughts. To this day, nobody knows what it cost us to maintain Cuban troops in this country in addition to the free arms deliveries. This too creates cause for serious concern. In order not to waste billions more in the future and not to help undermine stability in international relations, which would be harmful to us, we need to fundamentally review the existing situation. The point is that every deal involving deliveries of Soviet weapons should be discussed in the country's Supreme Soviet with the involvement of experts, and that it should be implemented only after approval by the supreme legislative organ. We must also take account of the special sensitivities of some of our republics to events in particular regions of the world.

In the existing situation regarding Angola, it will probably be simply unable to pay its debts, irrespective of the decision adopted. Therefore, regrettable as it may be, we will have to pick up the tab. Maybe we could sell the "promissory note" to Western countries at a bargain price. The question is: Would we find buyers?

East Europe

Gorbachev Converses With Hungary's Thurmer

LD2407211391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Jul 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev today had a short, business-like telephone conversation with Thurmer, Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [HSWP] chairman, who is in Moscow as head of an HSWP delegation. The importance in today's conditions of maintaining mutually advantageous relations of equal rights between the Soviet Union and Hungary was stressed, as was the active search for ways of overcoming the difficulties which have arisen in economic cooperation which meets the interests of the working people of both countries.

Thurmer was received by USSR Vice President Yanayev on the same day.

Troops Withdraw From Poland's Jelenia Gora

LD2307203191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1455 GMT 23 Jul 91

[By correspondent Aleksandr Babenko]

[Text] Warsaw 23 July (TASS)—The withdrawal of units and subunits of the Northern group of forces from Poland's Jelenia Gora voivodship began today. The first

transport train carrying the equipment of the guards tank regiment which will be redeployed in the Kiev region has left the garrison near Boleslawiec. It is planned to have the regiment's withdrawal completed by 31 July. The last Soviet soldiers will have left this garrison by the end of the year.

Bodies of Polish Officers To Be Exhumed

OW2507074291 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1800 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A group of Polish experts and representatives of judicial bodies has arrived in Kharkov. Together with Soviet law enforcement workers they are to exhume Polish officers shot there before the war. The burial was discovered by the KGB. It is the first visit of this kind by Polish lawyers to the Ukraine.

Yanayev, Ivashko Receive Poland's Miller

PM2407131591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
23 Jul 91 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] Soviet Vice President G.I. Yanayev received L. Miller, general secretary of Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SdRP], who is in Moscow at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee, 22 July.

During the friendly conversation there was a detailed exchange of opinions on the political and economic reforms in the USSR and Poland, and on a number of aspects of Soviet-Polish relations. The opinion was expressed that it is important to overcome the decline in economic cooperation between the two countries.

The same day L. Miller met with V.A. Ivashko, deputy general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The talk, which was held in a spirit of mutual trust and understanding, discussed the state of and prospects for interparty CPSU-SdRP ties. Taking part in it were V.M. Falin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and T. Iwinski, member of the SdRP Central Executive Committee and chief of the SdRP Central Executive Committee International Department.

Bulgarian Constitution Angers 'Right-Wingers'

PM2407094191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 Jul 91 First Edition p 5

[Interview with A. Lilov, chairman of the Bulgarian Socialist Party Supreme Council, by L. Kuznetsov in Sofia 19 July: "Caution: Threat from the Right. On the New Bulgarian Constitution"]

[Text] Thousands, tens of thousands of people. The main slogan is "Let's Defend the Constitution!" The atmosphere in Sofia's central square is solemn and at the same time tense, and even anxious.

The new constitution was adopted by the Grand National Assembly a week ago. A. Lilov, chairman of the Bulgarian Socialist Party Supreme Council, received your PRAVDA correspondent on the eve of this event.

"We are expecting a great deal from the signing of the constitution," he said. "We have to turn our attention to two important factors here: The first is the constitution's mission to enshrine all the achievements in carrying out reforms in our country, and the second is that its signing will be a convincing testimony to the fact that the beneficial processes that have started are of an irreversible nature."

The distinct, clear role of the basic law, which meets the interests of all strata of society, has been marked out. But that is exactly what has evoked the hatred of the ultraright-wingers and those who voluntarily or involuntarily support them either through folly, confusion, or a lack of self-confidence. The country is in a critical transitional period. The following question worries people: Will there be democracy or not, will Bulgaria enter into the civilized society or will it find itself in the embrace of "rampant capitalism."

The constitution was the convincing victory of life-asserting, humanist forces. It ensures pluralism in all spheres of life and notably it provides for the existence and coexistence of various forms of ownership.

However, the right-wingers have not calmed down. Whereas before, they fought to prevent the adoption of the constitution with the aim of 'driving into a corner' the left-wing forces and primarily the Bulgarian Socialist Party, and throwing the country into the arms of the West by reducing ties with the USSR, then now, having failed, they are counting on creating chaos in the country, on the disintegration of the government, the destruction of state structures, on a type of forcible political coup in the country. All this is happening in the name of "committing to the flames" the basic law. They are "setting fire" to it on various sides. Straight after the signing of the constitution, several parliamentarians who are members of the right-wing opposition declared a hunger strike as a sign of nonacceptance of it. Processions have been organized at which the appeal to immediately start our own "Bulgarian local revolution" are being voiced more vociferously each time.

In the face of this, the Bulgarian Socialist Party leadership adopted a decision to hold a rally in defense of the constitution. Some people doubted whether this measure would be successful: They said that faith in the Bulgarian Socialist Party has fallen. But this was a delusion. Over 30,000 people—workers, students, employees, and peasants from nearby villages—came to this important open-air people's council. With their applause, they supported appeals to resolutely oppose the emergence of extremism

and support national accord and a peaceful transition to the creation of a renewed society. At the same time the socialists paid attention to the need to strengthen the unity of progressive forces and the unity of the Bulgarian Socialist Party. Otherwise a misfortune may occur.

The rally lasted several hours. Serious worries were being expressed that the right-wingers would provoke disorder and clashes. Particularly since they had mustered their own antirally nearby. But it proved possible to avoid skirmishes (largely thanks to the efficient, cool, and correct work of the police) between the participants in the main mass rally and the aggressively-minded elements of the mini-antirally, which could have turned into a bloody drama.

The country is approaching a new phase of life. It has been declared that the elections to the new parliament (the current parliament has fulfilled its basic task—it has adopted the constitution) will take place 29 September. In this connection, A. Lilov said the following to your correspondent:

"The new parliamentary elections must be a step forward on the path of progress and they must strengthen democracy and freedom, the elections must be honest. If they are not, then democratic processes will become more complicated. The Bulgarian Socialist Party believes in the need to create all the necessary conditions to express the will of the people."

CSFR's Dlouhy Ends 'Controversial' Talks

*LD2407183291 Prague CTK in English 1139 GMT
24 Jul 91*

[Text] Moscow July 24 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Economics Minister Vladimir Dlouhy today ended his one-day stay in the Soviet Union in the course of which he discussed with Soviet officials controversial economic issues in the two countries' relations and concrete Soviet deliveries to Czechoslovakia in 1992. Dlouhy told CTK a considerable shift is apparent in preparations for economic reform in the Soviet Union especially after the recent "G- 7" summit in London. The Soviet Union seems to consider similar steps in its economy as did Czechoslovakia and other East European countries. Dlouhy said he had to reject the Soviet proposal that Czechoslovakia reduce signed trade deals. He said he was optimistic as regards possible exports of Czechoslovak agricultural produce to the Soviet Union. The Soviet stand on trade with Czechoslovakia in 1992 is not yet clear, Dlouhy said.

Commentary on Parallels Between SFRY, USSR

*PM2507091791 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 20 Jul 91 First Edition p 7*

[Article by M. Sarantsev under "Events in Yugoslavia" rubric: "Lessons Must Be Learned"]

[Text] The whole world is following intently the dramatic events in Yugoslavia, reflecting on the causes of the crisis, trying to imagine its possible consequences, draw the necessary conclusions, and learn lessons from it for themselves.

What brought Yugoslavia to the situation whereby the opposition of a number of its constituent republics produced a paralysis of federal structures, led to an upsurge of nationalism, and called into question the very existence of this state that had united around it the Southern Slavs? The contradictions between individual Southern Slavic peoples, which have deep historical roots, turned out to have been carried over to a significant extent into relations between the republics that went to make up the SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]. Up until a certain point the powerful central authority did not allow the conflicts between them to flare up. However, already from the mid-seventies onwards separatist sentiments began to gather momentum in the republics. This was especially remarkable in Slovenia and Croatia—the most economically developed republics of Yugoslavia. Local leaders, in order to get out from under Belgrade's control, began to blame the central authorities for all mistakes and failures. Belgrade, on the other hand, hoping to boost the role of the republics and rid itself of at least part of its liability for economic and political difficulties, proceeded with a course of extending their powers. Separatist processes received a powerful boost in 1974 with the adoption in Yugoslavia of a constitution recognizing the priority of republican interests over all-Yugoslavian priorities.

It must now be stated with alarm that the political development in Yugoslavia which led to the recent tragic events is in many ways reminiscent of what the Soviet Union is having to face at the present time. In our country, too, everything began with the opposition of the republics' interests to the interests of the state, then the upsurge of emotions of a nationalist hue, single-minded efforts aimed at discrediting the federal power structures, above all the Army and law-enforcement organs, and finally, until recently, confrontation between components of the federation with the center, and between individual republics.

Many of our republics have become drawn into the war of laws which is destroying the country's economic space; customhouses have appeared on the borders between them, and the USSR president's decrees on the need for the rigorous fulfillment of mutual contractual obligations between enterprises, irrespective of their territorial location, have been ignored... It would appear that in the conditions of the economic collapse, the forces which bear the responsibility for this will, as in Yugoslavia, argue the inexpediency of preserving the Union from the point of view of their economic interests. And it is unimportant that the experience of foreign countries, including West European countries, demonstrates the need for close economic cooperation if states

are to thrive. For our modern Herostratoses [Herostratos—Greek hero who destroyed the temple of Artemis, one of the seven wonders of the world, simply to make a name for himself], what counts is realizing their own plans, even at the price of the deprivation and suffering of millions of people.

A new step on Yugoslavia's road to the current crisis came in spring 1990, when, as a result of elections to the local organs of power in Slovenia and Croatia, victory was achieved by figures who had until recently been in opposition. By this time the main uniting force capable of offering opposition to the nationalist extremism and separatism in the country—the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY]—had to all intents and purposes left the political arena. In a number of cases some former leaders of the party and state apparatus typically found themselves "on the same team" as opposition figures who had been persecuted by the Yugoslav authorities only a few years previously. They began their activity by sharply criticizing the Serbian leadership, which was pursuing a course aimed at having the SFRY's Constitution revised so as to enhance the role of the federal center. The leaders of Slovenia and Croatia accused Serbian leader Milosevic of attempting to secure Serbian supremacy in the federation. Anticommunist rhetoric was put into play. As a retaliatory step Serbia proclaimed a course aimed at reviving an autonomous state designed to unite around itself all the lands inhabited by Serbs. And bearing in mind that the Serbs constitute, to one degree or another, a proportion of the population of all the republics of Yugoslavia, the consequences of such steps are not difficult to imagine. Indeed, these consequences were not slow to take effect, leading to armed conflict between Slovenia and the central authority.

The situation was also complicated by the fact that Yugoslavia's Constitution and laws do not provide for a mechanism for republics to secede from the federation. The separatists' confidence in their impunity is increased by the indecisiveness of the SFRY central government, which is acting with one eye permanently on the opinion of the West, which is threatening economic sanctions in the event of the use of force to solve "interregional disputes." Under these circumstances entire responsibility for preserving the country's unity has fallen on the Army.

The position of a number of foreign states regarding the events in Yugoslavia is noteworthy. Whereas the first reaction in the United States and Western Europe was to condemn the separatist leaders of Slovenia and Croatia, now sympathy for them is being expressed with increasing candor in these countries. Some people in the West are even saying that a model for how to react to the advent of similar situations in USSR is being given a try-out, using Yugoslavia as an example.

Declarations of support for the SFRY Government have been accompanied by Washington's pursuit of a course aimed at close contacts with the leadership of the two "rebellious" republics, Slovenia and Croatia.

The conflict in Yugoslavia has highlighted all the fragility of the system of interstate relations which arose after the war in the Balkans and in the states around this region. Smoldering contradictions between states flared up overnight. Thus circles have emerged even in Italy hoping to obtain part of the Adriatic Littoral as a result of the breakup of the SFRY; voices demanding that their governments "demonstrate concern" for the fate of their ethnic brothers who have lived for decades in Yugoslavia are growing increasingly loud in Budapest and Tirana.

Is this not the fate some people would like to prepare for our country? After all, it is no secret that external forces exist which seek to weaken our state, for reasons which include the promotion of their long-standing territorial claims on the USSR. The paradox is that in the majority of cases these claims are also widespread within the territory of some of our republics, whose leaders are extremely radically orientated. It will be interesting to see to whom they will turn for help when their neighbors put maps of great antiquity on the table and "ask" for the present borders to be brought into conformity with these maps.

One would like to hope that the plans to break up Yugoslavia are not destined for success. The consequences might be too dangerous (especially if the Serbs and Croats enter into direct conflict), not only for Yugoslavia, but for the whole of Europe. After all, Yugoslavia's example might whip up the efforts of the separatists in other countries—including Western countries—in which interethnic problems exist. In addition, hopes of creating within the foreseeable future a firm system of collective security in Europe would be hit, since such a system is based on the principle, proclaimed in the Paris Charter for a new Europe, of the territorial integrity of European states.

The world is faced with a difficult choice: Either to allow a "great repartition" of Europe, which is fraught with unpredictable, and probably bloody conflicts, which will snowball across the continent; or in the name of the higher interests of European peoples, to start settling all interethnic and interstate problems on the basis of the inviolability of the existing borders, placing human rights above the right of nations to self-determination. And let the blood that has already been shed in Yugoslavia serve as a lesson to all those who try to achieve the success of their political ambitions on a wave of nationalism and separatism.

The Soviet Union firmly supports the rigorous observation of all the norms and principles of international law and CSCE documents in dealing with Yugoslavia.

West Europe

Gorbachev Meets European Parliament Head

CM2507113591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Jul Second Edition p 4

TASS Report: "Meeting of M.S. Gorbachev and E. Baron Crespo"]

[Text] President Mikhail Gorbachev today met visiting European Parliament President Enrique Baron Crespo.

Gorbachev welcomed the guest and praised deepening ties between the European Parliament and the Soviet Parliament. He noted the importance of interparliamentary ties for the European process in the spirit of the Paris charter.

The Soviet president analyzed in brief the situation in Europe. Promising processes in Europe are accompanied with negative ones, as always in history. Today, they are followed by nationalist separatism, instability and elements of disintegration.

All this can be overcome, but it demands weighed approaches and timely and appropriate understanding of signals received from the changing reality. He pointed to the growing demand for new international institutions for rapidly changing Europe. The Soviet president also spoke about the situation in Yugoslavia.

The sides discussed the Soviet president's meeting with the G-7 leaders. They praised the enormous chance it gives for moving along new reference-points and realising new values in world politics and economics, but they noted that it also lays great responsibility on all participants.

Crespo confirmed the Europarlament's solidarity with the transformations in the Soviet Union. He spoke about plans for cooperation with the Soviet parliament, including sharing experience of parliamentary activities at the international level.

Gorbachev briefly characterised the most important elements in the development of the situation in the country.

Crespo repeated an invitation to the Soviet president to visit the Europarlament. Gorbachev confirmed his wish to do so.

F. Puerto, Dzh. Kharris, Zh. Nansi, [names as transliterated] and A.S. Chernyayev took part.

Greek Prime Minister Leaves Moscow for Kiev

LD2407172991 Moscow TASS in English
1616 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Text] Moscow July 24 TASS—Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis completed his stay in Moscow today and flew to Kiev from Vnukovo Airport.

President Mikhail Gorbachev and his wife extended their best wishes to Mitsotakis and his wife at an official farewell ceremony in the Kremlin's St. George Hall.

Economic Ventures for USSR Described

PM2407153791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
23 Jul 91 Second Edition pp 1,5

[Report by correspondent A. Lyutyy: "After the 'Seven,' Revival of British-Soviet Contacts"]

[Text] London— Following the industrially developed "seven's" leaders' adoption in London of the plan to aid the Soviet economy's integration into the world economy, the time has come to take practical steps, to fill the document with real content. And it has to be said that Britain, which chaired the London conference, has been given a key role in this process.

As has been announced, before the end of the year Prime Minister John Major will make a trip to the USSR on behalf of the "seven" to acquaint himself with the work that is to be done in the Soviet Union in the coming months, and to move the process of interaction along. British chancellor of the exchequer Norman Lamont goes to the USSR in the next few days. According to the FINANCIAL TIMES, his task is even now to "put flesh on some of the pledges" made by the "seven" in London. In particular, during talks with representatives of the center and of the republics, the minister will try to find out what steps have to be taken in the first place to get the Soviet financial and banking system more actively involved in world transactions. The British chancellor will also share with his colleagues experience of economic and financial regulation in his own country.

A delegation of experts from the British department of employment has just begun a visit to our country. It is the first such contact in all the time since World War II. In Moscow, Leningrad, and Tallinn, it has been announced here, the delegation will "study the economic and political climate" and, above all, the "possibilities of assistance in the sphere of setting up small enterprises." The plan devised by the "seven" in London envisages helping to get this sector on its feet.

At the end of its trip, the department of employment delegation hopes to draw up a list of promising joint projects which could be partly financed by the government "know-how fund," set up more than a year ago to assist British firms entering the Soviet market. As a result of the talks between M.S. Gorbachev and J. Major the size of the fund has been increased from 20 to 50 million pounds sterling.

One can well imagine some of our primitive jingoists criticizing such visits as "elementary tuition" ill-befitting a great country, as interference in our internal affairs. But here too perceptions of the British plans for the USSR are not uniform. But if you discard the rhetoric, dictated partly by electoral considerations, it is clear that over the last 11 or so years Britain has accumulated unique experience of restructuring the economy, developing high-technology sectors, and implementing the privatization process. We are not in

any way obliged to copy this experience, but we must select from it what is expedient.

Furthermore, the activation of contacts between the "seven" and the Soviet Union creates more favorable conditions for Western business trying to get into the Soviet market and increases its confidence in the prospects for developing this market. It is highly symbolic that the meeting in London was immediately followed by several announcements of major deals between British entrepreneurs and Soviet organizations.

The British Gas corporation has joined its partners—the Canadian firm Gulf Canada Resources and the Soviet association "Kombineft"—in setting up a joint venture to develop and exploit two major oilfields in Komi SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. Using modern technology, which will require investments of \$200 million to introduce, the joint venture hopes to be producing 20,000 barrels of oil a day in three years' time and subsequently to expand operations. The plan fits nicely into one of the points of the "seven's" plan envisaging aid for the USSR in modernizing the energy sector of our economy.

At the same time, the large computer company ICL has formed a joint venture with the Kazan association for the production of computer systems. The British side, which will have a 60-percent share in the joint venture, intends to establish a sales network in the USSR for its top-quality computers and to help organize the relevant technological facilities in Kazan. Over the next four and one-half years the Ford plant in Dagenham, near London, will supply the USSR with 20,000 of its diesel engines. They will be installed in "Moskvich" cars. It is expected that the first car with a Ford diesel engine will come off the Moscow plant's assembly line in September.

So the "seven" have given an important fillip to a process that will ultimately benefit both sides.

Aeroflot Cooperation With Lufthansa Reported

PM2407114991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 20 Jul 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The foundations of cooperation between Soviet and German civil aviation were laid back in 1921 with the creation of the "Deriluft" [as heard] joint venture. Then came the war. It was only in the seventies that regular flights between the USSR and the FRG began. We have now attained a high level in the civil aviation

field—three flights a week between our countries, and roughly 250,000 passengers per year in both directions.

[Unidentified reporter] Lufthansa is the world's top freight carrier and third passenger carrier among the world's aviation companies. Aeroflot is the top passenger carrier. The two companies are good partners. Our aircraft and German aircraft fly to Moscow, Frankfurt-am-Main, Berlin, Leningrad, Munich, and other cities. The main principle in Lufthansa's activity is high quality service for its customers and only modern aircraft stock. All this is precisely what we lack. For that reason our joint venture, Moscow's airport, involving Aeroflot, Lufthansa, and other German firms, is to do our passengers and aviators a very great service. To be specific, this project involves the construction and reconstruction of Sheremetyevo-1 Airport, including the air terminal, repair shops, a hotel, and services for passengers on Union and international flights. And the work is, moreover, already under way. A new Lufthansa office has opened at the Olympic Penta Hotel, providing absolutely everything to improve and expand all manner of services: advance bookings and an information service geared to answering literally all your questions. The main point is that everything at the Moscow office has been designed to intensify our ties and extend the destinations for flights between our countries.

[Hans Barakling, Lufthansa general representative, identified by caption, in Russian] As you say here, the more the merrier. And we are all delighted by the fact that we now have this kind of smart ambience, it's a source of delight not only for us but also for our customers.

[Herbert Wendlich, Lufthansa commercial director, identified by caption, in German with Russian voiceover] In two or three years we intend to increase the number of flights by up to 40 percent. This is necessitated by the situation worldwide and in Europe. After all, cooperation is not just a matter of supplying steel, concrete, glass, and automobiles, but above all a bridge between our peoples, a means of communication. It is not only politicians but also children, housewives, and artists who must use these flights. Our flights to Moscow and other cities are a fine symbol of the all-European home. Lufthansa's direct flight, Hamburg-Berlin-Moscow, opens 1 August.

Correction to Soviets Remove Missiles From Germany

LD2407185991

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "12 Nuclear Missiles Removed From Germany," published in the 16 July Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 40: Column two, third paragraph, last sentence make read ...they were improved Scud missiles with a range of 2,000 kms [figure as received]

Political & Social**Preparations for CPSU Central Committee Plenum****Gorbachev Views Role of CPSU**

LD2407162991 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak
Network in Russian 1511 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Text] A plenum of the CPSU Central Committee will start working in Moscow tomorrow which is to examine the draft new party program. Naturally, there is great interest in the plenum in the country; therefore, the forthcoming event was also mentioned at Novo-Ogarevo, where Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev met with journalists to speak about the problems of signing the Union treaty. We have already broadcast a detailed report on Mayak and the First Program of All-Union Radio. Now we invite you to listen to an excerpt bearing upon tomorrow's event.

[Begin Gorbachev recording] I think the party is facing a very important choice. On the basis of comprehending its own history and our civilization, it should arrive at a program document which would define very clearly the party's guidelines and goals. Naturally, each party should answer the question of who's interests it defends. I think this document should also mention what the party itself should be like, precisely in the context of the new current situation in society when we are dealing with real political pluralism and the delimitation of legislative and executive power.

On the whole, I think this is a program which should solve many things brought up by life, and I am confident that the draft we have developed—given its further elaboration, and, evidently, its discussion in the party and society which will follow—will be able to give the party a respite, and it will become a representative not only of certain groups or strata but it also can and will be able to express national interests, democratic, progressive ones, related to people's aspirations and to solutions to urgent problems. Therefore, this program will be notable—this will be a specific feature—for its, let us say, up-to-date character. Most likely, this will be a program for the nineties. And I think...but you and I understand that in these nineties a lot will be decided and the foundations will be laid down which will determine the forms of our life for many decades to come. [end recording]

Gorbachev Meets Local Party Chiefs

OW2507022091 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1500 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU Mikhail Gorbachev

met leaders of republican and regional party organizations. The discussion was related to the full-scale meeting of the Central Committee due on Thursday and Friday.

According to well-informed sources, the meeting was tense. Most critical speeches of local party leaders focussed on the recent decree of the Russian President Boris Yeltsin on the closure of party cells at offices and plants.

Several speakers urged Gorbachev to abolish the decree. The general secretary informed the meeting about CPSU actions taken in this context. He mentioned the Politbureau statement and the appeal of the Secretariat of the Central Committee to the national parliament to instruct the Constitutional Committee to check whether the decree is in accordance with the USSR Constitution and legislation.

Several persons spoke for passing a special resolution on the issue at the upcoming plenum. Mikhail Gorbachev agreed with them.

The question of Gorbachev's resignation from the post of general secretary was not discussed.

According to well-informed sources in the CPSU leadership, even if the question of resignation is raised at the plenum, it will not be as acute as at the previous full-scale meeting. According to the same sources, Yeltsin's decree showed that Gorbachev's authority and his combination of the posts of president and general secretary are extremely important for the CPSU in the present conditions.

Central Control Commission Plenum

LD2407200791 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1818 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Text] Moscow, 24 Jul (TASS)—A plenum of the CPSU Central Control Commission took place today. Yevgeniy Makhov, acting chairman of the CPSU Central Control Commission, presented information on the forthcoming discussion of the draft CPSU program at the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. The results of the consideration of the appeals, applications, and letters to the 28th CPSU Congress were summed up.

The plenum adopted a statement of the CPSU Central Control Commission, "In Defense of the Constitutional Rights, Honor, and Dignity of Communists," which will be published in the party press.

The plenum also considered organizational questions.

Control Commission Statement

CM2507095591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Jul 91 Second Edition pp 1-2

["Statement of the CPSU Central Control Commission in Defense of Communists' Constitutional Rights, Honor, and Dignity"]

Analysis of the state of affairs in the localities and also information reaching the Central Control Commission and the Central Committee of the CPSU indicate that, in a number of regions of the country, there are violations of the USSR law "On Public Associations", the USSR president's decrees on Lithuania, Armenia, and Georgia, and other legislative enactments guaranteeing a person's rights to hold convictions and to belong to various parties and movements.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo's statement "On Antidemocratic Acts and Violations of Human Rights in the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]" and the decision of the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat "On Instances of the Persecution of Communists in the Western Oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR" have not halted the new spiral of militant anticommunism spreading within the country. Extremist forces are coming together under the cover of democratic slogans and calls for reform. They are urging the isolation and banning of the CPSU as the major force opposing the replacement of the social system.

Laws, decrees and other normative documents in violation of the USSR legislation and international pacts on human rights are being approved in a number of republics. A ban on professions and occupying certain posts is being introduced for political reasons. Various anticonstitutional formations to suppress those who think differently are being set up.

There are numerous instances of social discrimination against Communists, their psychological and physical intimidation and severe reprisals. So, I.I. Fomin, CPSU member and editor of the oblast newspaper ZNAMYA, died at the hands of an extremist in January 1991 in the town of Kaluga. In March 1990 a tragedy hit the family of Communist M.O. Khachatryan, deputy of the Armenian Supreme Soviet and ex-secretary of Ashtarakskiy rayon party committee. All five members of his family, including two children under age, were killed in their own house.

This year armed attacks were made on the apartments of A.G. Sasadzishvili, first secretary of the Akhmetkiy rayon committee of the Georgian Communist Party; B.A. Kasymov, member of the Dagestan oblast party committee; and A.I. Levkovich, first secretary of the Rovenskiy rayon committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party. G.S. Petrov, member of the oblast party committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mari autonomous SSR, and I.I. Vasilevich, first secretary of the Akmyanskiy rayon committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party, and others were physically abused.

In some regions under pressure from managers who are against the Communists, cases have occurred of dissolving primary and workshop party organizations and

withdrawing party committees from an enterprise's territory. Similar incidents happened on the territory of Donetsk, Kemerovo, Samara, Sverdlovsk, and some other oblasts.

There is no legal assessment of actions by some bodies and officials who in violation of the USSR law "On Public Associations" and appropriate decrees by the USSR president are occupying by force buildings and motor vehicles which belong to rayon and oblast CPSU committees. Such incidents are noted in Armenia, Georgia, Lithuania, Moldova, Lithuania, Latvia and western areas of the Ukraine. The Panevezhskiy rayon council of the "Sajudis" proposed that the Lithuanian Government regard CPSU organizations as altogether criminal and take measures toward the complete blockade of their functioning.

All of this became possible first and foremost because state structures of power in the USSR and the republics, and the officials heading them, do not take the necessary timely measures to stop anticonstitutional actions and to protect the rights and freedoms of all citizens in the country, including members of the CPSU.

The CPSU Central Control Commission resolutely comes out against anticommunist hysteria and the violation of rights of citizens—guaranteed by the USSR Constitution—in political activity which does not run counter to existing legislation.

The CPSU Central Control Commission considers as an anticonstitutional and antidemocratic act the decree of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] president on stopping the work of organizational structures of political parties and mass public movements in state bodies, establishments, and organizations in the RSFSR.

The CPSU Central Control Commission appeals to the Supreme Soviet and the USSR president and the parliaments of sovereign republics, calling on them to use their authority in full measure to protect the rights and freedoms of every citizen, irrespective of political convictions.

We express the hope that the USSR Constitutional Supervision Committee, the USSR Supreme court, the USSR Procuracy, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the USSR Ministry of Justice will take all necessary measures for strict observance of the USSR Constitution and the law "On Public Associations" and to stop all instances of the persecution of citizens for political reasons to protect their rights to convictions and to protect property that belongs to parties and other public associations.

The Central Control Commission supports party organizations and their party committees and control bodies which use all legal ways to protect citizens' rights and the honor and dignity of members of the CPSU.

The CPSU Central Control Commission proposes that the Politburo and the Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee, taking into account local experience, should work out recommendations for party committees and primary party organizations to protect the constitutional rights, honor, and dignity of Communists.

Only by uniting all healthy forces in the party can we halt the campaign of anticommunism, insure success for democratic transformations in the country and preserve the integrity of our multinational homeland.

Draft Program Published

914B0266A Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA
in Russian 23 Jul 91 p 2

[Draft program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union under the rubric "There Is Such a Party": "Socialism, Democracy, Progress"]

[Text] Our country has embarked on the 1990's in an atmosphere of profound change. Perestroika has opened the way to the long urgent democratic reformation of all aspects of social life. The process is developing in complex fashion and is being accompanied by sociopolitical tension, economic crisis, and important shifts in the public consciousness. The party also is negotiating a critical period of its development.

Under these conditions an objective evaluation of past and present is essential and a clear and realistic action program for consistent movement on the path of social progress toward a humane democratic society is needed. A radical renewal of the party itself and a new comprehension of its role and place in society are essential also. The purpose of this program is to serve as the ideological basis of the consolidation of the Communists and all supporters of the socialist choice.

I. Our Principles

Endeavoring to express the cherished aspirations of the people, learning lessons from its history and taking account of world experience, the CPSU will contribute by all political and ideological means to:

the all-around progress of society, excluding any attempts to make the people happy by way of the imposition on them of any speculative plans whatsoever. Under conditions where the nuclear, ecological, and other threats multiply the dangerous consequences of social cataclysms many times over, no responsible political organization should set the task of the forcible rearrangement of society. The new level of development of the productive forces, engineering and technology and the modern sociopolitical structures are making it possible with the aid of consistent reforms to accomplish the most profound, essentially revolutionary transformations;

the affirmation of freedom in all its diverse manifestations—social and personal, economic and political, intellectual and spiritual. Freedom as the basis of moral

choice is inseparable from civic responsibility and inconceivable without the formation of a state based on the rule of law and a civil society based on the sovereign power of the people;

the free competition of the producers of material and spiritual values, which is organically combined with society's concern for the socially vulnerable strata. The requisite full compensation for labor and talent is an indispensable condition of progress in industry, science, culture and education;

the implementation of environmental programs in the interests of man and the preservation of natural resources for future generations. No development of industry and technology as a result of which man's environment is impoverished and the natural conditions of his existence are undermined may be deemed progress;

the affirmation of consistent internationalism and the free development of all peoples—large and small—and the renewal of the Union as a voluntary federal association of sovereign republics;

the country's integration in the integral world community, the constructive interaction of all countries, the international division of labor and the formation of a single space of peoples' cultural communication.

Expressing the interests of the working people, the CPSU is today a party of democratic reforms, a party of political and economic liberty, a party of social justice and values common to all mankind, a party actively advocating civic harmony.

This understanding of the nature of our party is the result of a critical interpretation of the path trodden and the new historical situation.

II. Lessons of History

We do not idealize the past, nor do we renounce it, evaluating the experience of history in all its contradictions.

Russian social democracy joined the political struggle at the turn of the century in an atmosphere of world crisis and the extreme exacerbation of internal contradictions. An aspiration to lead the country onto the paths of world social progress—this was the basis of the revolutionary strategy of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party. Its first program, drawn up with the decisive participation of Lenin and Plekhanov, proceeded from the inseparability of democratic and socialist tasks. With the adoption of the second program (1919) the party was renamed the Communist Party. Communism as a social ideal based on values common to all mankind, the harmonious combination of progress and justice and the free self-realization of the individual will always be alive in people's consciousness. We preserve in our ideological

arsenal the scientific substantiation of socialism developing in the channel of the Marxist tradition of all world humanitarian thought.

The October Revolution was a great event in world history. This was a popular revolution consonant with the social impatience and the interests of the vast majority of the destitute. The people followed a party whose program contained an end to the war, free transfer of land to the peasants and the plants and factories to the control of the workers, the complete elimination of the class system with its privileges, the introduction of measures of social protection unprecedented for that time and the proclamation of national equality.

The worker-peasant masses believed in the possibility of the creation of an improved and just society and made sacrifices and underwent deprivations for the sake of it. This constituted the meaning of life for several generations of Soviet people. They turned the country into a powerful state, made a decisive contribution to the smashing of fascism and blazed the trail into space. They scored outstanding successes in many spheres of science, technology and culture.

The Soviet era exerted a most profound direct and indirect influence on world economic and social progress and the national liberation movement. The world significance of the Russian revolutionary experience and the socioeconomic transformations is indisputable. No one can cancel out this.

The post-October period accommodated the tragic years of the struggle for survival, the defense of the country's independence, the restoration of what had been destroyed in the wars and a search for paths of the modernization of society. This was a period aggravated by mistakes and flagrant distortions of the principles of socialism. Having developed the radical aspect of Marxism, Bolshevism, as a system of views and a political current, embodied both the flights and insights and the illusions of the turn of the century. The revolution was attended by the most brutal civil war. The attempt to build a new world by the compulsory methods of war communism was a failure. Lenin's New Economic Policy (NEP) afforded an opportunity for progress toward socialism utilizing the particular features of different economic structures, a combination of the interests of different social strata and the assimilation of the achievements of the most developed countries in science, technology, culture and education. But this policy was wound up and discarded by the Stalinist leadership.

The tragedy of society is that the business of the building of communism which had been commenced was distorted to the utmost by the establishment of a totalitarian system. The creative energy of a liberated people was fettered by an impersonal state ownership alienated from the producer, the political omnipotence of the party and state bureaucracy, the monopoly position of

vulgarized Marxist ideology and intolerance of democracy and glasnost. Mass punitive measures became the principal means of preservation of the regime.

The CPSU unreservedly condemns the crimes of the Stalin times, which brought to an abrupt end the lives and crippled the fate of millions of people and whole nations. There is no, nor can there be any, justification for this. Even in those years many Communists raised their voices in protest against leaders who had usurped power in the party and their policy. But they were dealt with as "enemies of the people." Substantial numbers of the party were physically eliminated. The tragedy of the Communists of this era is that they were unsuccessful in preventing totalitarian dictatorship, which entailed grim consequences for the country and the discrediting of the idea of socialism. A pivotal event in the history of the country and the party was the 20th CPSU Congress. It raised big hopes. But the transformations which were begun were interrupted. The causes and nature of the deformation of the social system were not understood, which gave rise to flagrant miscalculations in the determination of the prospects formulated in the third program of the CPSU (1961). Conservative forces continued preponderant in its power structures, and fear of genuine democracy and an authoritarian-bureaucratic regime were predominant.

The situation was complicated by the fact that the "cold war" and the rivalry with the leading capitalist powers in modern arms production exhausted the economy and prevented the development of the social sphere, and the country lost the historical initiative and was dragged into a protracted crisis. This occurred against the background of the rapid advance of the industrially developed countries, which had joined the technological revolution and had secured a growth in people's welfare.

The urgent need for fundamental transformations, which was dictated by domestic and world development, was not recognized immediately. Predominant for a long time was an endeavor to confine ourselves to partial changes in the economy and sociopolitical sphere. But they proved incapable of halting the growth of the negative trends. An understanding that the country could not continue to develop under such conditions and that not a discrete upgrading but fundamental renewal was necessary had matured in the party.

It was this which objectively dictated the decisive step into perestroika. Major social transformations began. Glasnost opened the way to a diversity of opinions and spiritual freedom. The political system is being reformed on democratic principles, property relations are being transformed and a process of transition from a supercentralized state to a federal state based on the self-determination and voluntary association of the peoples is under way.

The birth of the principles of the new political thinking and the qualitatively new period in the development of international relations are connected with perestroika.

and the way to an end of the "cold war," real disarmament and the creation of structures of general security and international stability has been opened.

The CPSU will strive to ensure that the positive trends born of perestroika will enjoy further development.

The transformation process has proven considerably more difficult than was imagined initially. The reason for this has been the burdensome legacy of the past and also mistakes and delay in the solution of the problem of radical restructuring; and the hesitation and compromise which emanated from an endeavor to postpone harsh unpopular measures or avoid them altogether, merely aggravating the situation. In an atmosphere where the old mechanisms of administration and planning were no longer working and the formation of new ones was being held up impermissibly, many processes assumed a spontaneous nature. Industrial and production relations were ruptured, shadow structures in the economy gained strength, inflation grew, confidence in the authorities fell and centrifugal trends intensified by interethnic conflicts increased. The force of inertia of the resistance to the transformations was underestimated. Promises of rapid emergence from the crisis were not justified. This repelled from the party some working people and forced them to seek support in other political movements.

At this critical stage it is vitally necessary to defend the policy of profound democratic transformations of society, act decisively and competently and achieve a consolidation of all progressive forces and a real improvement in people's lives.

III. Our Immediate Goals

In determining its program for the 1990's the party takes account of the fact that Soviet society has embarked on the complex process of transitional development. This is a mobile state, when the forms of social life, work and everyday reality change, new economic mechanisms and political institutions emerge and there are abrupt changes in the public consciousness. Under these conditions it is particularly important to sense the new trends born of reality and turn actual policy in the direction of a solution of the most cardinal and urgent problems. The party deems it necessary to concentrate efforts primarily on the accomplishment of such immediate tasks as prevention of the disintegration of the integral economic mechanism and multinational statehood and normalization of the political situation; stabilization of the consumer market and the uninterrupted provision of the populace with food; and a strengthening of law and order and legality. This can and should be achieved not by a winding down of democracy and a return to totalitarianism but, on the contrary, by the more decisive and consistent implementation of the democratic reforms which have been commenced.

The CPSU advocates the achievement in the process of transformations of the following goals.

In the political system:

conversion of the Soviet multinational state into a democratic federation of sovereign republics;

the building of a state based on the rule of law, the consistent development of democratic institutions and the multiparty nature of political representation of the interests of all strata of society, the system of soviets and local self-government;

realization of the principles of the separation of power—legislative, executive and judicial;

assurance of the rights and liberties of citizens of the USSR throughout the territory of the country and the alignment of human rights legislation with international standards;

undeviating observance of legality and law and order, the eradication of corruption and crime and protection of the security of the citizens and their property and the constitutional principles of state and public life; and the surmounting of legal nihilism.

In the sphere of national relations:

realization of the right of the peoples to self-determination, cultural autonomy, the development of languages and the preservation of folk customs and traditions;

settlement of interethnic conflicts on the basis of the law and political dialogue;

struggle against all manifestations of nationalism, chauvinism, racism and discrimination against citizens on a national or language basis and place of birth or residence; legislative enshrinement of the rights of small peoples and also the rights of peoples which suffered punitive measures and deportation.

In the economy:

structural reorganization of the national economy and its reorientation toward the consumer;

modernization of construction, industry, transport and communications based on high technology, the surmounting of the lag behind the world S&T level and the well-considered conversion of military production;

transition to a mixed economy and recognition of the diversity and equality of different forms of ownership—state and private, joint-stock and cooperative. Assistance to the formation of property of the workforce and the development of other forms of public property and the renunciation of general state ownership on the one hand and the unacceptability of total privatization on the other;

the formation of a controlled market economy as a medium stimulating the growth of productive labor and the multiplication of social wealth in the interests of a rise in the people's well-being;

the financial recovery of the economy, the surmounting of inflation, the achievement of convertibility of the ruble and the transition to free pricing, given state subsidies for needy groups of the population;

the allotment of land (including leasehold with right of inheritance) to all who can effectively work thereon;

the unrestricted development of all collective and private forms of management, excluding any coercion in respect to the peasantry, the priority development of the agro-industrial sector, state assistance to the countryside and the equivalent exchange of products of industry and agriculture;

the country's organic incorporation in world economic relations.

In the social sphere:

pursuit of an official policy making it possible to reduce to a minimum the inevitable difficulties and costs connected with the surmounting of the crisis in the economy;

the creation of equal conditions for the efficient work of the working people, regardless of form of ownership, conformity of income to labor contribution and regulation thereof via progressive taxation and indexation;

protection of the socially vulnerable strata of the populace and mother and child and an improvement in the pension system;

implementation of preventive measures against unemployment, the creation of new jobs and organization of the retraining of personnel and instruction in new trades;

realization of a program of housing construction, development of the extension of credit for individual and cooperative housing construction and the introduction of allowances for the upkeep of housing to low-income categories of the population;

the development of health care providing for the maximum prevention of disease and guaranteeing all citizens the possibility of free treatment;

prevention of a further slide toward ecological catastrophe, the solution of the problems of Baykal, the Aral Sea and other ecological disaster zones, the cleansing of the atmosphere of the cities and continued elimination of the consequences of the Chernobyl accident.

In science, culture and education:

the spiritual and moral development of the people, the enhanced education and culture of each individual and a strengthening of the sense of patriotism and civic duty and responsibility;

priority support for basic and applied research making it possible to realize the potential of modern science and diverse cooperation with world science; radical reform in the organization of scientific activity in the country; the

free competition of scientific schools and directions; appropriate compensation for discoveries, inventions and technical upgrades;

the convergence and enrichment of the cultural heritage of the peoples of the country; freedom of creativity combined with the moral responsibility of the artist to society and protection of the citizens against the preaching of inhumane ideas of violence and amorality;

preservation of the system of free education, the granting of young men and women the necessary and equal starting conditions for embarkation upon their careers and professional and cultural growth and satisfaction of spiritual requirements; state support for gifted youth;

an increase in the proportion of the national revenue channeled into education, science, and culture; the juxtaposition of total commercialization and spiritual activity;

raising the social status of workers engaged in intellectual labor—engineers, physicians, teachers, scientists, figures involved in literature and art, and workers in cultural institutions.

The country's security and defense:

maintenance of a reliable defense capability of the state, taking into account the development of the military and political situation in the world; implementation of a new security doctrine which includes an interconnected complex of defense, political, economic, and ecological measures;

reform of the armed forces in keeping with the principle of defense sufficiency and a switch to the formation of the army and navy on the basis of a combination of a professional military service and military obligation; social and legal protection of military servicemen; the possibility of alternative service;

production and improvement of arms in quantities sufficient for maintaining the combat readiness of the troops to repulse any aggression against the Soviet Union;

support for a course toward parity with the United States and other states, arms reduction, complete elimination of nuclear, chemical, biological, and other kinds of weapons of mass destruction;

bolstering of the authority of the Soviet Army, traditional respect for the defenders of the homeland, and patriotic education of the citizens.

In international policy:

development of interstate relations in keeping with the new political thinking, formation of a reliable system of universal security, surmounting of interstate and interethnic contradictions not through force but through an agreement reached by political means;

participation in the creation of a world economic, political, legal, and information space;

strengthening of cooperation between the Union of SSR and the sovereign republics with the countries of all continents and their alliances, communities, and international organizations;

creative participation in the general European process and in the development of multilateral cooperation in the Asian-Pacific Ocean region.

The listed goals and directions for activity are regarded by the party as a program of actions open to augmentation and enrichment as the society moves forward.

IV. Whose Interests Does the Party Reflect

Our party was founded as the political organization of the working class. The possibility of the revolutionary transformation of society is linked to its activity.

The progress of productive forces has made radical changes in the organization of production, the social structures of society, and man's position in them. There has been a sharp increase in the percentage of people employed in science, technology, education, public health, and the sphere of administration and services. The interests of various segments of the workers are coming closer together.

The unwillingness to take these fundamental changes into account has doomed the party to political blindness and defeat. It can count on fulfillment of its program goals if it consistently reflects and defends the interests of workers employed in various spheres of material production and spiritual life.

In interaction with the trade unions we shall defend the interests of the workers, achieving broad participation by representatives of the working class in organs of authority at all levels and the real right of the labor collectives to own enterprises and dispose of the results of their labor; a reliable system of social protection—especially in the state of the transition to the market, structural changes and modernization of production, and also conversion of the defense industry.

At the same time we must take into account the specific demands of miners, petroleum workers, metallurgists, construction workers, and other workers in the basic branches of industry, people engaged in heavy physical labor, and all those who work under difficult conditions and cope with new territories, who are away from their homes and families for long periods of time.

In interaction with the organizations of agricultural workers we shall defend the interests of the peasantry and speak out in favor of a free choice in forms of property and management, social development of the rural areas, self-government of the rural population, and their full-fledged representation in the organs of power.

We shall cooperate with the creative unions and scientific and technical societies, we shall defend the interests of the intelligentsia, achieving a rise in the social status and evaluation of intellectual labor in keeping with its significance for social progress, and contribute to creative research that is free of ideological and administrative dictatorship for scientists, engineers, and designers, as well as workers in literature and art.

We shall defend the interests of social groups that perform functions important to society in public service, achieving worthy pay and a high social status for teachers and physicians, individuals employed in various spheres of social management, military servicemen, and workers of law enforcement organs.

We are in favor of strengthening economic and social guarantees and improving the working conditions of women, daily life, and the family. The CPSU supports the efforts of the state and independent women's organizations directed toward rendering aid to families of modest means, the real equalization of opportunities for women and men in all spheres of life, including the management sphere, and expanding opportunities for women to engage in self-education, art, and sports.

In interaction with the Komsomol [All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League] and student and other youth organizations, we shall actively participate in the implementation of the state youth policy.

In the interests of people of the older generation and veterans of war and labor, we are in favor of creating a comprehensive state social program which includes guarantees of pensions and stipends above the subsistence minimum and expansion of social services intended to show concern for their health, daily life, and work of which they are capable, and also for the creation in society of an atmosphere of attention and respect for the elderly.

In conjunction with philanthropic societies and funds we shall achieve effective state and social protection of the most vulnerable segments of the population: children, especially in underprivileged families and those who do not have parents; single women with children; and disabled persons, so they will have normal living conditions and the opportunity to make as great a contribution as they can to social affairs.

Such are our social priorities. While defending the interests of the broad segments of workers, the party at the same time holds the following general positions regarding all citizens of the country.

We rule out any preference or discrimination according to social or professional affiliation. The party has no prejudice toward the useful activity of new segments of the society which are formed in the sphere of private business. At the same time it is against the shadow economy and attempts to make a living at the expense of others.

We categorically rule out any preference according to the national indicator. Our principals have been and still are internationalism, friendship and cooperation among the peoples of the country, and solidarity of the peoples of the whole world.

We rule out any preference related to attitudes toward religion. The party respects the feelings of believers and is in favor of equality of all religions and beliefs and it is against giving any religious organization unilateral advantages. It considers it inadmissible to use religion for political purposes to inflame interethnic conflicts, philosophical intolerance, enmity and hatred among believers of various faiths and also among believers and nonbelievers and atheists.

The democratic nature of the program goals makes it possible for the party to cooperate extensively with all social segments and individual citizens living according to the laws of our state while speaking out in favor of broad social mutual understanding, civic harmony, and cooperation. We see as enemies only those who violate Soviet laws, enter on the path of anti-state and anti-social activity, profess racism, chauvinism, nationalism, and other anti-human ideas, and try to achieve their goals in the political struggle through violent means. We are against militant anticommunism as a form of political extremism and the denial of democracy that is extremely dangerous to the society.

V. We Are in Favor of a Party of Political Action

Communists clearly recognize that only a radically renewed party will be able to solve the new problems successfully. It is necessary to critically reinterpret past experience, to overcome the negative legacy of the past, to take the new realities into account, to enrich its arsenal of ideas, and to restructure all of its activity in keeping with the requirements of the time.

The destruction of dogmas and myths in recent years has generated confusion and doubts about socialist ideals in some communists, and some party members have given in to the power of nostalgia for the past and conservative attitudes.

We can count on the authority of the CPSU and its influence in society if we turn our party into a creative political organization which actively contributes to the prosperity and well-being of the people, which embodies in reality the ideological unity of communists and the power of the party masses.

The main criterion for party renewal is its profound democratization.

Under conditions of the transformation of the USSR into a federation of sovereign states, the CPSU must be built on the principle of independence of the republic parties included in it and broad autonomy of local and primary organizations. We need flexible forms of the party's organizational structure which combine territorial and production principles and various associations

of communists on the basis of a community of interests and the task of concentration of forces in decisive areas, particularly during election campaigns. Unity of party political actions is provided by the observance by all communists of the program and regulations as well as the all-party decisions of the elective organs.

We need permanent mechanisms for revealing and analyzing the opinions of party members, their real participation in the development and implementation of decisions at all levels, and unconditional observance of the principle of electing and monitoring management organs. Political discussions, freedom to unite around party platforms, and the right of the minority to a respectful attitude toward its viewpoint will contribute to these goals.

The CPSU will maintain in its organizations an atmosphere of fraternalism and collegialism and a rich intellectual and spiritual life, aiding the development of the individual and the establishment of the ideological conviction of every communist. He is free in his selection of spheres of party activity that correspond most to his knowledge and abilities. The party struggles for constitutional protection of the rights and interests of communists and renders them comradely support through political, material, and moral means.

The guarantee of democracy within the party is the recognition of the right of each party member to freely express his position regarding any issue in the life of the society; to believe in religion or hold atheistic convictions; to participate directly in the work of one of the organizations or to participate some other way in implementing its political line. He may voluntarily render material support to the party to the extent of his capabilities. We shall welcome citizens sympathetic to the CPSU who cooperate with it in various ways.

The party suggests a new approach to understanding its role in society and relation to the state, as well as the choice of means for achieving political goals.

The party eliminates from its arsenal forever the principle that the "end justifies the means." It will scrupulously correlate the methods of its actions to the assessment of their probable consequences, remembering that it is impossible to achieve noble goals by unjust means.

We intend to operate exclusively by legal political methods within the framework of parliamentary democracy. The CPSU will fight for deputy mandates in democratic elections, gaining the people's support for its election program and the basic directions of its policy and practical actions. Participating in the formation of organs of state power and management, it will conduct its policy through them. It is prepared to enter into extensive cooperation in places where this is dictated by the situation and to establish alliances and coalitions with other parties and organizations in the interests of ensuring civic peace and a program of democratic transformations.

And for deputies elected from parties and parliamentary groups included in them, the most important thing should be their responsibility to the voters, to the people. This does not abolish the responsibility of CPSU members to contribute to the implementation of its political program.

The party sees as one of the main means of realizing its program its extensive dissemination and energetic propaganda and agitation for the achievement of the goals that have been set. We think that these democratic goals are in accord with the attitudes and aspirations of the younger generation. Only with their active and involved participation will it be possible to achieve them. The party is open to youth with their energy, searching, and creativity.

Speaking out in favor of freedom of the press, glasnost, and openness, we attach great significance to all kinds of professionalism, responsibility, objectivity, and honesty in the activity of our mass media. There should be further development of party scientific institutions, research centers, and funds in order to work on theoretical problems and substantiate practical policy.

Our party is built on its members' belief in certain ideological values. For us this is the idea of humane democratic socialism. In our country it is formed during the process of eliminating the autocratic structures and surmounting the distortion of socialism.

We are moving toward a society whose goal and center is man, free of exploitation and all kinds of social oppression, in possession of all civil rights and broad possibilities for the development and manifestation of his capabilities and the satisfaction of his diverse needs.

The establishment of humane and democratic socialism is inseparable from world progress, which is leading to the formation of a new civilization. Its distinguishing features can already be seen: priority of man and democracy, organic inclusion of science in production and ecologically pure technologies, introduction of information science in production and social life, the appearance of a new culture of labor and structure of needs, internationalization of economic life, the establishment of a world economy and close cultural communication of peoples. On this path, favorable opportunities open up for combining economic subjectivity and social justice, improving the well-being of the people, improving the quality of their life, and proliferating the wealth of culture.

These possibilities have not yet become realities. The real world is filled with conflict and injustice, and it is not easy to get rid of them. We cannot expect this to happen of its own accord, but the tendency that has been noted, although it is irregular and contradictory, is making its way, inspiring the progressive forces of mankind to struggle.

Industrially developed countries, where historically the main centers of capitalism have been formed, joined the

technological revolution sooner than others and have already completed the transition to primarily intensive production, which has enabled them to solve many social problems. Nonetheless, modern capitalism does not provide for harmonious development of the society and man himself. The individualistic ideals of Western civilization do not provide the key to resolving many harsh social contradictions. The sharp social contrasts, the desire to solve all problems at the expense of other peoples, authoritarian and militaristic tendencies, the crisis of morality and culture, and the actual exclusion of broad groups of population from participation in political life remain a reality. This is why prospects for social progress cannot be built solely on "the Western view of social problems" without taking into account the peculiarities of culture, tradition, and the position of all countries in the world.

The changes taking place in the world make it possible to take a new look at the historic fate of socialism. The socialist movement arose in the industrial age and was based mainly on a confrontation with political culture which reflected the severe class antagonisms of the society of the time. The new civilization that took form in the process of modern world development does not fit in with the typical ideas of a classical industrial society, its strict division into opposing classes, the polar opposition between labor and capital, or the confrontation of social systems.

Our attitude toward the theoretical basis of party activity is linked to this. We are aware that the source of modern socialist theory, in addition to Marxism, includes other concepts from domestic and world humanistic thinking. The socialist movement in the modern stage is formed as a broad interaction of diverse forces. Our party will cooperate with communist and socialist parties and with all democratic and progressive forces.

All the experience of the 20th century shows that socialist tendencies are not localized in selected countries but represent a global process of development of the world community which relies on the highest achievements of the labor and culture of all peoples. Ever broader germination of socialist realities in the worldwide process of the development of civilization—such is the clearly outlined perspective. The future is with a society in which the free development of each person is a condition for the free development of all.

Socialism, democracy, and progress—such are the goals of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We are convinced that these goals correspond to the interests of the people

Plenum Previewed

*LD2507080191 Moscow TASS in English 0501 GMT
25 Jul 91*

[By TASS world news service commentator Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow July 25 TASS—The plenary meeting of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee, opening here today, is going to be of crucial significance. Formally, its agenda envisages discussion of a new draft party programme. In fact, it is the future of the party as a whole body that will probably be decided.

The situation at the previous plenum, held exactly two months ago, was rather tense. Many speakers at the meeting strongly criticised Mikhail Gorbachev and even demanded his resignation as party general secretary.

But when the party leader raised the issue of his resignation, the overwhelming majority of Central Committee members voted against. Unity was preserved.

In the past two months, polarisation within the party sharply aggravated. Displeasure with the party leadership's policy grew in the provinces. Conservative forces in the party stepped up their activity substantially.

A "Bolshevik platform in the CPSU" was formed in Minsk in mid-July. The constituent conference of the movement adopted a resolution "on political no-confidence" in Gorbachev as party leader.

The second stage of the second initiative congress of Russian Communists, held in Moscow early in July, adopted its own version of the party programme, providing for "the restoration and consolidation of socialism in the USSR."

According to Vasily Lipitskiy, member of the Russian Communist Party's Central Committee, "a natural conservative opposition" formed within the CPSU, "may undertake an attempt to oust the general secretary".

Changes occurred on the other political flank of the CPSU, too. A number of political leaders, including former members of the Politburo Eduard Shevardnadze and Aleksandr Yakovlev announced plans to establish a democratic reform movement.

This step evoked but luke-warm response both from the CPSU Central Committee and the leadership of the Russian Communist Party, which described it as an attempt by "former leaders" to split the party.

At the same time the party general secretary "supported ideas" expressed in the address by the Democratic Reform Movement founders.

Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy first created a Movement of Communists for Democracy within the CPSU and then proclaimed plans to form on its basis a "Democratic Party of the Communists of Russia", organisationally separate from the Russian Communist Party.

In the conditions when "conservatives" and "democrats" began establishing formal structures, the current leadership tries to preserve party unity on the basis of centrist positions.

According to Ivashko, CPSU deputy general secretary, a party congress or a conference are to be held before the year's end to adopt a new party programme.

The recent plenary meeting of the Moscow city party committee favoured the convocation of congresses of the Russian and Soviet Communist Parties this year. They should result in the re-registration of party members and the renewal of leading bodies.

The plenary meeting should show whether developments in the party will follow the scenario outlined by the "centrists" in the CPSU leadership or whether the party will split.

It is worth mentioning that Gorbachev has a trump card up his sleeve: It was announced yesterday that a draft Union treaty has been completed, a development that will undoubtedly reinforce the positions of the party leader and create ground for the consolidation of centrist forces.

The signing of the Nine-plus-One agreement prior to the previous plenum helped Gorbachev to consolidate his positions as general secretary.

'Struggle' Seen at Plenum

LD2407215791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2021 GMT 24 Jul 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Tomorrow there will be a plenum of the CPSU Central Committee which will determine the date for convening the next congress and discuss the course of the party leadership. However, the main thing is that Mikhail Gorbachev will present a draft program for revitalizing the Communist Party. Judging by a report in NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, its aim is to bring the CPSU closer to a social democratic platform.

Many Western observers believe that at the plenum there might be a split and possible attempts to remove Mikhail Gorbachev from party power. However, the CPSU has long since ceased to be monolithic and the nucleus of society. Various groupings are propagating the most diverse theories, ranging from Bolshevism to anarcho-syndicalism have formed in it and are continuing to multiply. All of these groupings are linked by one thing—dissatisfaction with what exists both in the country and in the party—and all of them, but each in his own way, are proposing their way for getting out of the crisis. Evidently, this could become the foundation for the adoption of a centrist program around which the supporters of moderate reforms would unite.

The new program has been prepared by a special commission of 134 persons representing opposite currents in the Communist Party. However, as NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA claims, not one of the five official drafts was adopted by the general secretary. We shall find out about Gorbachev's plan tomorrow, but the question of whether or not the CPSU will succeed in freeing itself from its

ideological baggage and thereby give fresh impetus to long-overdue reforms will depend greatly on the outcome of the struggle at tomorrow's plenum.

Yeltsin Says 'No Confrontation' With Gorbachev

LD2407190591 Moscow TASS in English 1730 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Text] Moscow July 24 TASS—Relations between Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and Russian President Boris Yeltsin have not changed, despite Yeltsin's recent decree, Yeltsin told reporters after a meeting with Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis today. "There is no confrontation (between the two of us)," Yeltsin said.

This is confirmed by the meeting in Novo-Ogarevo on Tuesday, as a result of which the draft Union treaty can be initiated today after the last issue on taxes has been resolved, Yeltsin said.

Yeltsin Says Agreement Not Reached on Taxation

OW2507022691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0930 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian President Boris Yeltsin said to journalists on Wednesday that the agreement on taxation was not yet achieved in Novo-Ogarevo. According to Yeltsin, Russia and Ukraine have a peculiar view on taxation system, supporting a monochannel system, but the Soviet Government stands for a double-channel one.

Yeltsin said that the delegations from the republics were continuing the work over the controversial article 9 of the Union treaty today. "We are looking for a compromise for solving the problem till the end of the day," said Yeltsin. He said that Russia is ready to pass to the Soviet budget not an unfixed sum but a certain percent from the republic's revenue, "but a percent fixed and concerted."

"We also stand for signing the Union treaty as soon as possible," said Yeltsin.

Zhirinovskiy Criticizes Yeltsin Decree

LD2407195191 Moscow TASS in English 1834 GMT 24 Jul 91

[By TASS correspondent Boris Zverev]

[Text] Moscow July 24 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin's decree banning political activity at workplace is unfounded morally and legally, Soviet Liberal Democratic Party leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy told reporters today.

Yeltsin had a good idea—to oust political parties from state structures—but the decree envisages coercion against parties, Zhirinovskiy said.

He also blasted meetings in the Moscow suburb of Novo-Ogarevo between President Mikhail Gorbachev and leaders of nine republics as an attempt to "sign a death warrant to our state".

"I am against any territorial change. God forbid anyone from touching border posts that form our external borders. This will be the beginning of a war," he said.

Zhirinovskiy blamed the present leaders of the country, particularly Gorbachev and Yeltsin for current social and political problems in the country.

There are now some 50,000 members in the Liberal Democratic Party, he said, outlining the basic provisions of its programme.

Lukyanov Calls For Ruling on Decree

LD2407143191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 24 Jul 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Today Anatoliy Lukyanov instructed the USSR Committee for the Supervision of the Constitution to make a ruling on the conformity of Boris Yeltsin's decree on the removal of parties with the country's constitution and with international conventions.

Lushchikov Criticizes Decree

LD2407174691 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 24 Jul 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Just before tomorrow's forthcoming plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic president's decree on departyization has become a kind of catalyst for the processes occurring in our society. Journalists are turning to lawyers for consultations. The USSR minister of justice has come to our studio today with his experts.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent M. Zotov] Have you brought here your personal viewpoint on the Russian president's decree or the viewpoint of the union's Ministry of Justice?

[S.G. Lushchikov, USSR minister of justice] Well, I have brought here the viewpoint of the specialists who have the deepest understanding of that question—not exactly a commission: They are people who primarily study international law and international relations and the functioning there of parties, public movements, and so on. After all, that aspect is very important today: How does the world public regard us? How does it all look from the point of view of common human values? Here I can say that the decree of the president of the Russian Federation primarily comes into conflict with the international pact on political and civil rights, which our state ratified in 1975 within the framework of the Helsinki

process. In other words, it restricting the opportunity to exist in political parties, in the structure of the state apparatus, enterprises and so on.

As for our practice, which is not great, the existence of a multiparty system, the functioning of democratic forms, it is natural that... I think that it clearly interrupts the democratic process, which, in general, has, perhaps, not always functioned consistently in our country, but in recent times has functioned quite successfully. Why is it easy for me to say that, to some extent? Because the country's Ministry of Justice has registered 197 political parties and public associations. Today we are studying how of these public associations function in conjunction with other associations and with state structures, I think that there is no need today to remove them somewhere from enterprises and institutions.

Legally, this decree has not been properly drafted. In other words, it is not even clear what is the subject of the decree, in which somewhere, spontaneously, certain positions are taken or torn out from different spheres of legal regulation. It simply introduces great confusion into those several constructive endeavors, into those several elements of concord that have, nevertheless, sprung up with the participation of the country's president and the leaders of executive power in the republics, including the Russian Federation.

Moreover, well, I'll venture to say—I've repeated it on more than one occasion—that our country's population, including the leaders, does, nevertheless, possess a low level of legal expertise. So today, as soon as someone interprets the positions and clauses of that decree, especially as regards union legislation and the legislation of the Russian Federation, one can easily imagine what a variety of opinions can arise from that today. And, in general, does it benefit our current democratic processes? [end recording]

Pavlov Retirement of Yagodin Viewed

PM2507115591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jul 91 p 1

[Report by K. Belyaninov: "As Soon as Parliament Went off on Vacation"]

[Text] Gennadiy Yagodin, chairman of the country's State Committee for Public Education, yesterday received an ordinance signed by USSR Prime Minister V. Pavlov concerning the former's retirement as a result of the expiry of his term in office. His First Deputy Vladimir Shadrikov was appointed acting chairman.

Let us remind readers: Yagodin was certainly not nominated as a candidate among the crop of candidates for Pavlov's Cabinet of Ministers, and generally speaking it is not very clear at the moment whether provision has been made for this post in the Cabinet. Nevertheless, with the support of many reappointed USSR ministers and groups of people's deputies, Gennadiy Yagodin remained in his former job.

According to unofficial information from the USSR Supreme Soviet, a letter requesting that G. Yagodin be confirmed as chairman of the state committee was drawn up by a group of people's deputies. It was intended to hand this letter over to the USSR president in July, but in view of M. Gorbachev's busy schedule it was agreed that the meeting with the president should take place in August.

The prime minister's order was signed just when the country's Supreme Soviet had gone into recess for the vacation, when the president was in London at the G-7 meeting, and when "external" influence had been fully excluded.

According to information from the USSR State Committee for Public Education, Gennadiy Yagodin will not be turning up for work today.

Incidentally, it was precisely during his period in the job of state committee chairman that solutions were found to questions that even now crop up unexpectedly in Cabinet of Ministers' documents: an end to the drafting of students into the Armed Forces, the issue of voluntary agricultural work, and much else besides.

Denies Involvement in Resignation

LD2407152591 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak
Network in Russian 1400 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Unattributed report]

[Text] Mikhaylov, head of the prime minister's press office, has reported in a conversation with a TASS correspondent that the prime minister had nothing to do with the resignation of Gennadiy Yagodin, chairman of the State Committee for Public Education. Yagodin applied to the USSR Council of Ministers for a pension in connection with his reaching pensionable age last December. At the time, a decision was made on setting his pension. Pavlov signed only one document on this matter, in accordance with which Yagodin's pension was increased. The head of the prime minister's press office voiced the view that the comments in the media concerning Yagodin's resignation represent more a political fuss than knowledge of the facts. Let me say for my part that this information, it seems to me, does not, all the same, clarify this complicated matter. As far as Yagodin is concerned, it is a great pity that he has resigned.

Gorbachev Keeps Yagodin in Position

LD2507063491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak
Network in Russian 0430 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has instructed Gennadiy Alekseyevich Yagodin to carry out the duties of chairman of the USSR State Committee for Public Education until the Supreme Soviet session. This report was received with stormy and continued applause at the State Education Committee. I hope that this will raise hopes among our students, too.

Movement To Save Soviet Power Founded

914B0265A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 23 Jul 91 First Edition p 1

["A Word to the People"]

[Text] Dear Russians! Citizens of the USSR! Fellow Countrymen!

An enormous and unprecedented misfortune has occurred. Our Homeland, our country, and our great state, given to us for safekeeping by history, nature, and our glorious forefathers, are perishing, breaking up, and sinking into darkness and nonexistence. And this destruction is taking place with our silence, tolerance, and accord. Have our hearts and souls really turned to stone? Is there not in any of us the might, the valor, and the love for the Fatherland that moved our grandfathers and fathers, who laid down their lives for the Homeland on battlefields and in dark torture chambers, in great labor and struggles, who put together a state from prayers, burdens, and revelations, and for whom the Homeland and the state were the supreme and most sacred object of life?

What has happened to us, brothers? Why have crafty and pompous masters, clever and cunning apostates, and greedy and rich money-grubbers, sneering at us, mocking our beliefs, and taking advantage of our naivete, seized power? Why are they stealing our wealth, taking from the people their homes, factories, and lands, cutting the country into pieces, causing us to quarrel, making fools of us, excommunicating us from the past, and alienating us from the future, thus dooming us to a miserable existence of vegetation in slavery and subordination to our all-powerful neighbors? How has it happened that we, at our deafening rallies, in our irritation and impatience, having longed for change and wishing the country to prosper, allowed into power those who do not love this country, who fawn on foreign patrons, and who seek advice and blessings across the seas?

Brothers, we are late in awakening and we are late in noticing our misfortune, when our home is already burning to the ground and when to put it out we need not water, but our own tears and blood. Will we really tolerate for a second time this century civil dissension and war, will we again throw ourselves between cruel millstones that were not set in motion by us and where the bones of the people are ground up and the backbone of Russia is broken in two?

We appeal to you with words of great urgency. We appeal to representatives of all professions and positions, of all ideologies and faiths, and of all parties and movements for whom our differences are nothing in the face of the common misfortune and pain and in the face of the common love for our Homeland, which we view as united, indivisible, and joining fraternal peoples in a mighty state without which there is no existence for us under the sun.

Let us wake up, let us come to our senses, let us rise up, young and old, for our country. Let us say "No!" to the destroyers and the usurpers. Let us set the extreme limit of our retreat at the last line of opposition.

We are beginning a national movement and calling into our ranks those who have discerned the terrible disaster which has overtaken the country.

We call upon the working people, to whom today's pharisees promised abundance and wages but whom they are now driving from their factories and mines and condemning to famine, disenfranchisement, and a dismal existence of standing in lines for an allowance, a piece of bread, and for the charity of the rich and the masters.

We call upon the hard-working peasants, driven to exhaustion by an ignorant government and whose present destinies are decided by yesterday's destroyers of villages and creators of utopian programs who impose on the farmer a one-sided exchange, dooming him to desolation of his fields and destruction of those farms which have remained intact and are feeding the country.

We call upon the engineers, by whose hands, mind, and talent were created a unique technological civilization and a mighty industry which secured the prosperity and protection of the people and permitted the Homeland to reach out into space. Our technology, having tired of working and in need of modernization and renewal, has come to a halt and collapsed during six years of idleness and lofty phrases, and now we are a country of halted enterprises, a silenced energy system, vanished commodities, and bewildered and impoverished engineers who have been separated from their creation.

We call upon the scholars, who have worthily furthered the development of the country's science, amazed the world with the fruits of their labors, and accumulated discoveries in the laboratories and institutes for the coming dash into the 21st century, where we hoped for a worthy place in human civilization. Instead of that, demagogues and criminals are ruining our valuable accumulations, scattering the collectives of researchers, closing off scientific directions, choking off the development of space research, nuclear technologies, and new chemistry, and dooming the best minds to vegetation and flight from their native lands into prosperous countries where their talent will nourish others development and not their own.

We direct our voice to the Army, which has won the respect of mankind for the selfless deed of saving Europe from the Hitlerite plague; to the Army which has inherited the best qualities of Russian and Soviet arms and which opposes aggressive forces. Our glorious defenders are living through difficult times. It is not the Army's fault that it has been compelled to hastily leave its foreign garrisons, to be the object of unpardonable political speculation, and to be subjected to the continuous attacks of lies and slander by irresponsible political intriguers. But no one will succeed in transforming the

Armed Forces into an amorphous mass, to break it down from within, to hand it over for defilement. We are convinced that the troops of the Army and Navy, faithful to their sacred duty, will not allow a fratricidal war or the destruction of the Fatherland, that they will step forth as the dependable guarantors of security and as the bulwark of all the healthy forces in society.

We direct our voice to the artists and writers who have created our culture a bit at a time on the ruins of the routed classics, who have obtained for the people the images of beauty and goodness, and who have expected of the future a dawning of the arts, but who have found poverty and the diminution of their creations to a pitiful farce for the fun of the merchants and rich men when the people, excommunicated from their spirit and deprived of their ideals and governed by immoral and crafty people, are torn from their history and turned into a cheap labor force for foreign factory owners.

We appeal to the Orthodox Church, which has passed through Golgotha and which, after all the massacres, is slowly rising from the Grave. Today it, whose spiritual light has shown in Russian history even in times of darkness, although still not firmly established, is tormented by strife, is attacked in the dioceses and parishes, and does not find the support it deserves in a strong state power. Let it hear the voice of the people calling for salvation.

We appeal to Muslims, Buddhists, Protestants, and the faithful of all types for whom their faith is a synonym for goodness, beauty, and truth; for them the present is full of cruelty, ugliness, and lies which destroy the soul of the living.

We appeal to the parties, large and small, to the liberals and monarchists, to the centralists and members of zemstvos, to those who advocate a national idea. We appeal to the Communist Party, which bears the entire responsibility not only for the victories and failures of the preceding 70 years, but also for the six last tragic years, in which the Communist Party at first led the country and then renounced power, giving away that power to frivolous and clumsy parliamentarians who have set us against each other and brought forth thousands of stillborn laws, of which only those function that enslave the people and divide up the tormented body of the country into portions. The communists, whose own leaders are destroying the party, throw down their party membership cards and rush to the camp of the enemy—they abandon and betray their former comrades and demand the gallows for them—let the communists hear our call!

The youth, our hope and our flower who are corrupted by being sent into the service of false idols, who are condemned to idleness, impotence, drugs, and crime.

The old men, our wisdom and pride, unfailing workers and our tireless breadwinners, who have received as their lot poverty, disparagement of what they have achieved, and defilement by the slop in the press and television of

those who try to achieve the destruction of memory and opposition between the generations.

Young veterans and internationalist soldiers who have demonstrated selflessness, humanism, and high moral qualities but who, innocent, are put in the position of the guilty.

Women, who deny themselves a supreme natural right—that of carrying on the species for posterity—out of the fear of engendering poverty and supplementing with soldiers the army of a civil war, and who are threatened by their own love and their own motherhood...

All, whoever they may be, in the cities and the settlements, in the steppes and the forests, at the edges of the oceans that wash the country—let us come to our senses, unite, and repulse the destroyers of the Homeland!

From this moment on let us take the path of the salvation of the state. Let us create a popular patriotic movement where each, exercising his will and his authority, unites in the name of the supreme goal—the salvation of the Fatherland.

We unite

in order to halt the chain reaction of the ruinous disintegration of the state, the economy, and the individual;

in order to contribute to the strengthening of Soviet power and to turn it into a power that is genuinely for the people and not into a feeding trough for hungry upstarts who are prepared to sell out everything and everyone for the sake of their own insatiable appetites;

in order not to let a consuming fire of interethnic discord and civil war break out.

We will not spare our own forces in the implementation of reforms which are able to overcome the intolerable alienation of the individual from power, labor, property, and culture and to create for him dignified conditions for life and self-expression. We will give energetic support to progressive innovations directed at moving our society forward, achieving the modern heights of scientific and technical progress, and liberating the minds and energy of people so that each may live according to his work, his conscience, and justice. And we will oppose projects which drag the country backward into the gloom of the middle ages and to where the cult of money, force, cruelty, and carnality exists.

Our movement is for those who find the taste for destruction alien and who are consumed by the desire to create and equip our common home so that each people, large and small, and each individual, old and young, may live in it in friendship, comfort, and happiness.

It is not the time to amuse ourselves with illusions, lightheartedly relying on the insight of latter-day messiahs who with extraordinary ease promise us first one and then another panacea from all misfortunes. It is time to shake off our torpor and together, as a nation, seek a

solution to the present impasse. Among the Russians there are statesmen who are prepared to lead the country to a dignified and sovereign future. There are economics experts who are able to restore production. There are thinkers, creators of spirit, who see a national ideal.

The Soviet Union is our home and stronghold, built by the great efforts of all the peoples and nations who saved us from disgrace and slavery in the times of the black invasions! Russia, our only and beloved! She calls for help.

[Signed] Yuriy Bondarev, Yuriy Blokhin, Valentin Varennikov, Eduard Volodin, Boris Gromov, Gennadiy Zyuganov, Lyudmila Zykina, Vyacheslav Klykov, Aleksandr Prokhanov, Valentin Rasputin, Vasilii Starodubtsev, Aleksandr Tizyakov.

Rutskoy on Founding of Democratic Communist Party

AU2507081091 Hamburg BILD in German
25 Jul 91 p 4

[Interview with Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy by Karl-Ludwig Guensche; place and date not given: "Gorbachev Comes to the Democrats"]

[Text] [Guensche] You are preparing to found a democratic communist party. Will the CPSU members join you?

[Rutskoy] Yes, I think so. We expect 3 to 4 million in Russia alone. According to our analysis, in total, about one-third of the 16 million CPSU members are willing to join democratic movements.

[Guensche] Will the CPSU split, perhaps already at the Central Committee plenum today?

[Rutskoy] If the Central Committee plenum has any common sense, it will decide in favor of a democratic restructuring of the party. If there is no clear majority for that, a split is unavoidable.

[Guensche] If a split takes place, which side will Gorbachev join?

[Rutskoy] He will decide in favor of the democrats. Even though, as president, he is trying to be neutral, but in his heart he belongs to the reformers. After all, he is the father of perestroika.

[Guensche] Why do all democratic parties not join together against the communists?

[Rutskoy] There are two camps in the Soviet Union: the reformers and the conservatives. We must join forces. I personally am in favor of uniting this summer with the group headed by Shevardnadze. This would make us all strong.

Cabinet Rejects Consumer Basket Draft Law

LD2507005591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Jul 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The Cabinet of Ministers has discussed the draft law on the minimum consumer budget, or as they now say, the consumer basket. It was drawn up with the participation of specialists from various fields. The demands being made of this draft law are high, since it is earmarked for future forecasting of the population's standard of living. It will become the basis for a new reworking of the all-union program for aid to those in particular need of it, and also, for determining the minimum levels for wages, pensions, benefits, stipends, and other social payments. It is envisaged that this minimal consumer budget will be corrected annually taking into account the changes in prices.

What is at the basis of this draft law? The particular content laid out in the draft for the all-union minimum consumer budget corresponds to the presidential decree. It reflects expenditure to obtain a selection of consumer goods and services which satisfy the basic physiological and socio-cultural needs of a person.

According to the draft, a consumer basket complete with goods for one person is valued at 210 rubles per month. Some 113 rubles, or slightly more of the total amount, is to be spent on foodstuffs. Clothes, footwear, medicines and other goods come under another section of the budget and are valued at 62 rubles. And in the view of the authors of the draft, a person should be able to pay for various services, including communal ones, and the costs of transport with 24 rubles.

As the draft was discussed, many questions were raised, and serious doubts on individual articles in the draft were aired, and this is understandable—the country is moving toward market relations, and as a rule, prices in various areas of trade are rising, and of course, to calculate such a consumer basket before adopting definitive resolutions means that it needs to be evaluated repeatedly before any cuts can be made.

As a result of the discussion, the USSR Cabinet of Ministers rejected this draft.

Trotskyite Magazine Publishes First Issue

LD2507061191 Moscow Radio Rossi Network in Russian 2000 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Text] A meeting with the editorial board of the Trotskyite magazine SPARTAKOVETS took place in Moscow today. Incidentally, this name has nothing to do with the team Spartak. Our correspondent Georgiy Sovtsov gives the details:

[Sovtsov] I am sorry I cannot present documentary evidence of this meeting, because journalists, to put it mildly, were not very welcome today. Anyway, the first

issue of the magazine SPARTAKOVETS in Russian is in front of me. To do it justice, it must be said that it is published in 4 languages, for practically all countries in the world, from Australia to Mexico to Canada. The headlines of the first edition, briefly, are as follows:

Fragmentary Reprinting of Works by Lev Trotskiy, Soviet Thermidor, Situation in USSR and Tasks for Transition Period, What is the USSR and Where is it Going and What Do Members of SPARAKOVETS Want, Letter to Soviet Soldiers, In Protection of Marshal Tukhachevskiy and other materials.

The magazine attacks and spews curses aimed not only at Stalin,—of course, that could be expected—but at all political parties and movements in our country. I quote from the introduction: All main political movements continue to abuse Trotsky and the political program he was fighting for. The first edition is rather electric, but it may be of interest to those who are involved in modern politicking. Whatever you say, the idea of a militarized communism is alive and finds its followers. An address for correspondence is given: Moscow, 121019, P.O. Box 19.

Gorbachev Appoints New TASS Director General

LD2507122991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] The USSR president today signed a decree on the director general of the TELEGRAPH AGENCY OF THE SOVIET UNION [TASS].

Lev Nikolayevich Spiridonov has been appointed to this post. According to the decree, the TASS director general enjoys the rights of a leader of a central organ of state administration of the USSR.

TASS Reviews 25 Jul Soviet Central Press

LD2507072791 Moscow TASS in English 0647 GMT 25 Jul 91

["Press Review"—TASS Headline]

[Text] Moscow July 25 TASS—Today's press is highlighting the finalisation of the work on a draft new Union treaty. Reporting the completion of the meeting of the leaders of plenipotentiary delegations of republics that worked on the draft treaty at Novo-Ogarevo near Moscow, newspapers quote USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev as saying at a news conference that participants in the meeting had "finally reached agreement" and that the text of the treaty had been "finally elaborated and circulated among participants in the meeting". An important phase of the process will follow: The treaty will be rendered open for signing, newspapers quote Gorbachev as saying.

Commenting on this news in a dispatch from Novo-Ogarevo, PRAVDA's correspondents write in particular that "the light of hope that the signing of a new Union

treaty brings promises the peoples of the country a return to the tenor of peaceful and harmonious life"

Newspapers frontpage reports on reactions to Russian President Boris Yeltsin's decree "On the Termination of the Activities of the Organisational Structures of Political Parties and Mass Social Movements in State Agencies, Institutions and Organisations in the Russian Federation".

There is an article in PRAVDA by a lawyer—a teacher at the Department of Soviet State Law of the Moscow Law Institute—who writes that the purpose of the decree is clear: "to deprive the Soviet Communist Party (CPSU) of its privileged position of the only political party having party committees at factories and institutions". The author of the article believes that the purpose of the decree is "justified and understandable but its legal enactment does not hold water".

In an interview with TRUD newspaper, Sergey Shakhrai, state councillor of the Russian Federation in charge of the policy of law, rejects speculations that the decree may become discriminatory with regard to trade unions.

The decree does not question the right of working people to have trade union structures at the workplace because they uphold workers' interests, he emphasised.

Under the general headline "Let Us Defend Democracy" SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA carries a column of letters, statements and reports containing protests against the above-mentioned decree of the Russian president.

PRAVDA and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA run a statement by the Central Control Commission (CCC) of the Soviet Communist Party "in Defence of the Constitutional Rights, Honour and Dignity of Communists". The statement was adopted at the CCC's plenary meeting on Wednesday.

The CCC believes that the Russian president's decree on de-partisation is anti-constitutional and anti-democratic.

A plenary session of the CPSU Central Committee opens today to discuss a draft new programme of the CPSU. Reporting this, RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA carries a column of considerations on that scope by a factory party committee chief and by the first secretary of a district committee of the Russian Federation Communist Party—representatives of two trends within the CPSU—who express different and at times polar opinions, such as, for example, the idea that "feigned unity is worse than a split".

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA carries an open letter by the central and republican ministers of information and the leaders of the press committees to the president and Cabinet of Ministers of the USSR and the governments of republics.

The letter expresses serious concern over the contraction of the volume of publishing and the emergence of a real danger of the closure of state-run publishing houses owing to an uncontrolled increase in the prices of paper and the cost of press distribution services.

"Georgia means not just Gamsakhurdia alone", Georgy Chanturia, chairman of the republic's National Democratic Party which is in opposition to the present Georgian Authorities, told KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA newspaper. He maintains that the recent presidential elections in Georgia were rigged.

"The whole truth has not yet been said" about the April 1989 developments in Tbilisi where about 20 people were killed during the dispersal of a demonstration by troops, according to Colonel General I. Rodionov, the author of an open letter in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA to three generals—people's deputies.

He points to obvious contradictions contained in the report by the parliamentary commission chaired by Anatoly Sobchak and the informational report by the USSR procurator-general, and demands an additional investigation of the Tbilisi events.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA runs the text of the law "On Foreign Investments in the Russian Federation" which, as the preamble has it, is aimed at drawing foreign investments and effectively utilising them in the national economy of Russia.

Sergey Filatov, commenting on the situation in the Middle East, emphasises in PRAVDA that "a Mid-East settlement is impossible without a solution to the Palestinian problem".

He writes that only the Palestine Liberation Organisation can give guarantees of security which the leaders of the Israeli state want to get.

An Israeli agrarian delegation led by Agriculture Minister Refa'el Eytan has visited Kyrgyzstan. In an interview with SELSKAYA ZHIZN (Rural Life) newspaper, eytan said that the purpose of the trip is to study the possible parameters of businesslike and mutually beneficial cooperation in the field of agriculture and agrarian science.

Sergey Dmitriyev, who has visited the Soviet Western Group of Troops stationed in Germany, writes in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA that "the withdrawal of the western group of troops from Germany—the largest Soviet group of forces stationed abroad and playing the main role in maintaining the military balance in Europe, should be viewed as one of concluding acts of the loss of tangible military-political influence in this region by the Soviet Union".

Economic

Statistics Chief Views Current Situation

LD2407215191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Jul 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] As we have already reported, the USSR State Committee for Statistics has summed up the results of the first six months of the year. While reporting that there was some stabilization of the economy during the months of May and June, its prediction for the future is nevertheless not very encouraging. We have asked our correspondent to clarify the details.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent O. Bobin] The report of the USSR State Committee for Statistics on the results of economic activity in the first six months of the year, which has been published in the press, shows a fairly complex picture of the national economy at present. At the same time most publications have headlined the statement that success has been achieved in halting the drop in production. Is this a tendency toward an improvement or is it nevertheless just a temporary thing?

[V.N. Kirichenko, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Statistics; identified by caption] It is true that we note the fact that over the last two months, May and June, elements of stabilization have become discernible. The point is that industry's daily output during May and June was at the April level. It may also be noted that deliveries from the republics to the all-Union stock of foodstuffs have considerably improved of late. There has been a halt to the physical drop in commodity circulation that was occurring during the months of April and May. It seems to me that the source of these elements of stabilization lies on the whole in the improved political situation in the country. Well, the facts are well known. The Novo-Ogarevo accords have played their part. Finally, agreement has been reached on a joint action program by the Cabinet of Ministers and the governments of the union republics on extricating the country from crisis. This is also a significant factor for the union republics. Finally, and perhaps the most significant and important thing in an economic sense, was the cessation of mass strikes.

[Bobin] Regarding the new forms of production—your statistics report in this regard says that 3,000 joint enterprises are being introduced in our country but only one-third, even less than one-third, are actually producing—in general how are the new forms viewed?

[Kirichenko] Well, let me cite some facts and figures. Perhaps one should not exaggerate these processes, but there has nevertheless been some progress. By the middle of 1991 there were 70,000 peasant farm holdings functioning in our country. Well, what does this figure signify? It means in turn a little over 2 million hectares of land and an average of 32 hectares per farm holding. In

our country there are now 3,700 leasehold enterprises. Then there are the cooperatives. You are of course aware of the fact that the process of their development has been turbulent. Now there are 255,000 of them and they employ, including people with two jobs, 6.5 million people. So there is some movement toward the market. I repeat that the figures are very noteworthy but...

[Bobin, interrupting] The environment does not yet exist.

[Kirichenko] No, as a whole there does not yet exist the kind of competitive market environment that, let me repeat, would produce a fight for customers and, in this connection, a striving too to improve production and achieve technological improvements. [end recording]

People's Deputy Urges Mass Leaseholding

PM2407145991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Jul 91 Second Edition p 3

[Interview with Pavel Bunich, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and USSR people's deputy, conducted by N. Mochalina; first two paragraphs are journalist's introduction; time and place not given: "Pavel Bunich: 'Those Who Take No Risks, Take the Greatest Risk'"]

[Text] Any perestroika presupposes disorganization, and if the reorganization of a whole society is undertaken, then our present discomfiture is not to be surprised at at all. And indeed we have already stopped being surprised. We are now worried by something else: How to stay afloat, how to survive? Some people advise that we learn about market relations more quickly, others advise us not to rush. And it is argued that to date it has been possible to transfer only 14 percent of our economy into the market sector. "And what do the economists think about this?"—ask readers while making conjectures of their own.

I put these questions to P. Bunich, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and USSR people's deputy.

[Mochalina] Pavel Grigoryevich, any day now we must all become, in today's parlance, dealers or, in "genteel" language, entrepreneurs. Otherwise no market relations at all will ensue. But is this possible if people's mentality remains rooted in the past? You cannot go forward while looking backwards...

[Bunich] Do not forget that people inherently like to own things and that consequently there is an entrepreneur in everyone wanting to get out. This is a talent possessed by a very large number of people. This is not, of course, the talent of a Tchaikovsky. But we all have by our very nature a bit of the wily roguishness of Ostap Bender in us. To become an entrepreneur the first requisite is not to be lazy. Why do some people fear enterprise in our country? Because they are not used to working, to hustling and bustling, to acting. The first citizens in our

country to have become rich are far from being geniuses. They are simply quick-witted people who do not wear blinders and who have grasped that you have to go out of your way to fail today. There are rich pickings lying around in our country today in fact just as there once were in other countries. Today, it is important for everyone to understand that things are not going to be done for you. Everyone has to roll his sleeves up. Those who take no risks, take the greatest risk.

[Mochalina] We all understand this in theory. But how is someone to act in practice if he is accustomed simply to "turn up to work"—to the machine tool, counter, or desk? What is he to do—Is he to leave his machine tool and start baking bread? Ninety percent of people employed in the national economy will then be forced to change their job, their way of life, and so forth. Moreover, they will paralyze the economy even more.

[Bunich] Nothing of the kind! The first thing that someone can do today (I am talking here about people employed in the state sector) is to go over to leasing. The law on leasing has been in operation for 18 months now. Leasing, in my view, is the only way which will produce a different standard of living—even if not yet the like of Switzerland, nevertheless no longer like it is in the Soviet Union. Production development funds are placed in the ownership of leaseholders, they can be divided, and then every member of the collective will become a shareholder and everyone will earn profit on his shareholding. Leasehold enterprises are entitled to opt out of ministerial jurisdiction. And that already represents in many respects freedom of enterprise and economic independence. Under normal leasing, such as practised "over there," the leaseholder is completely free. He has to make a lease payment and be accountable for keeping the property in good order. In our country leasing is of a special nature and has harsh terms attached. But I consider this kind of leasing is on the way out. So when you add them up, many more virtues of leasing relations may be counted, but the main virtue is that they lead to the market with the least social and economic cost and loss of moral.

[Mochalina] Why, then, have so few collectives in our country gone over to this form of economic activity during the 18 months of its existence?

[Bunich] If you compare it with the initial level, it is not so few—12,000 enterprises, employing 11 million people. If, however, you compare it with what is required, it is too few. Why? Because something stymies them. Nine out of ten enterprises are being stymied, for when collectives go over to leasing they no longer need ministries. Moreover, they do not need the bloated apparatus of the enterprise (you cannot do without an apparatus altogether).

[Mochalina] Is that the only stumbling block?

[Bunich] No, of course not. There are also the banned lists. These lists contain enterprises which by government decision are not entitled to go over to leasing. We

are promised that these lists will be reduced and even a deadline, which has been passed, was set. But nothing happens.

[Mochalina] Yet leasing still does not equate to ownership. And people, as you remarked at the start of our conversation, do by their nature like to own things...

[Bunich] Therein lies leasing's role, the fact that it invariably entails the second step—buying out the enterprise. Where is the money to come from? First, at leasehold enterprises workers, as has already been said, hold in their hands the enterprise's development funds, which can be used to buy it out. Second, there are wages. And third, credits.

[Mochalina] There are other ways too. Small enterprises, for example...

[Bunich] Quite true. We previously had no small enterprises because we entertained the certainty that major production units had huge advantages over small ones. Lenin, incidentally, had the idea that the advantages of major production units were in no way absolute, as sometimes appears. Indeed there are many kinds of activity where small-scale production units have a host of advantages: auto repair, hairdressing, and indeed the whole of consumer services...

We have too few people in our country to date who are prepared to take on the risk of a small enterprise. While in the West people do take the risk, since people there are not so sure of the future. That, by the way, is not just a "social evil" as we have been wont to regard it. After all, if you are unsure about the future, you have to constantly think about how to feed yourself and your family and protect yourself against ruin. That is to say, your energy serves as the real driving force of progress. And it has to be understood that the best form of insurance is to have several jobs on the go at the same time.

And it is time for us to choose which is best: Making sacrifices but making our way toward a better life or no sacrifices, but with a standard of living no higher than that of 1985. Our people have so far, unfortunately, been opting for the latter.

[Mochalina] A decision has already been made that each Russian citizen will receive an ownership certificate—a privatization account—from the republic's budget. How can he use this money?

[Bunich] This is a special kind of money. It cannot be spent in a store. But anyone can use it to buy shares in an enterprise and become a shareholder.

[Mochalina] Does that mean that if you buy shares in an enterprise you have to stay working there?

[Bunich] Not at all. It is each individual's own business where to invest his capital. He can even split it and hold

shares in several enterprises. Furthermore, the geographical location of these enterprises is of no significance. The main thing is to invest capital correctly and profitably.

There is another opportunity for "retraining" as an entrepreneur—through joint ventures. There are approximately 3,500 in our country. That is very few. And just 500-600 of them are actually operating, the rest exist on paper only. But they, too, must earn a living, that is why they need enterprising people.

In addition, "purely Western" enterprises have now begun to be created. A law on foreign investments has already been adopted. This means it is a foreign enterprise but our people work there. They will earn big money there—otherwise who would want to forego the benefits more or less guaranteed by the state.

The choice of form of privatization is left to the labor collective. It must decide everything itself. The sooner the better.

[Mochalina] Pavel Grigoryevich, it is easy for us to sit here and discuss and give advice when you have your salary and I have my wage... But thousands of people are already facing the real threat of unemployment.

[Bunich] Unemployment exists throughout the world. But take my word for it, no state has been destroyed by unemployment. I am familiar with the Zagorsk "Berezka" cooperative, which initially dismissed one-third of its workers and then hired not only that one-third but as many again because it had become stronger and fitter. Thus, there will be an outflow of cadres, which is negative, but there will also be an influx, which is positive. That is bound to happen! And it is the normal way.

Yes, we are seeing the disintegration of economic ties. This factor also causes unemployment. But as soon as the country's economy begins to recover that factor will be eliminated.

There will be a third factor, too—scientific and technical progress. But if the choice is between progress and unemployment, the choice must be for progress. That is the law.

[Mochalina] The law is one thing but real live people are going to suffer...

[Bunich] Why must they suffer? They can go in for small business. Consumer services are a vast empty field. And finally public works exist throughout the world, they help people to feel that they are not "redundant."

We simply must not forget that throughout the world they have suffered, are suffering, and will continue to suffer from these ailments. And that consequently the medicine has already been tested more than once.

[Mochalina] You are an optimist...

[Bunich] I am an economist!

Weekly on Problems Facing Urengoy Gas Field

LD1707180791 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service
in English 2300 GMT 16 Jul 91

[Text] The natural gas industry ought to be one of the few areas where things are more or less all right in this country, being one of its major export items. Besides, it never had a problem meeting plan targets. Yet, as usual is the case, there is much more to it than meets the eye. Ludmilla Lyange, writing in the scientific weekly RADIKAL, considers the case of Urengoy, this country's biggest natural gas deposit. The title of her article is "Urengoy—Poppers on Chests with Gold."

In 1985 the Urengoy deposit reached the maximum level of gas extraction. This means that the reserves are not limitless. The time has passed when gas always spurts out of the well in a mighty fountain. Now more often it has to be pumped out. So called compressor plants are used for the purpose. The cost of one such plant runs into a handsome 25 million rubles, but then the effect is fantastic—an extra 2-20 thousand million cubic meters of gas. So the plant pays off during the very first year of operation and later brings an annual net profit of up to R150 million. So one would expect the country, being as poor as it is, to start building these plants by the dozen. But what happens in reality?

You must have obviously guessed that the reality is somewhat different, otherwise there would be nothing to write about. The commissioning of the first plant, due five years ago, was delayed by two years. In all, eight plants have failed to be completed, incurring losses of R2,000 million. The main reason is lack of personnel. Workers are quitting en masse, unable to tolerate any longer the tough living conditions. The other reason is an elementary lack of money. True, the profit is enormous—some 2,000 million—but the state is taking away about 90 percent in the form of rent charges. Gazprom, the concern in charge of the country's total gas production, instead of being a thriving business, owes the state R4,500 million that is because the state places an order for the entire output of Gazprom. In other words, all the gas is given away to the state. They have nothing against this, but they say in this case the state, for its part, too, should provide 100 percent logistic supplies to the oil and gas industry, and it is hard not to agree with such an argument. Yet I think there is no need to say that nothing has changed.

Agriculture

Defense Ministry To Help Gather Harvest

LD2207114891 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service
in English 0800 GMT 22 Jul 91

[Text] The USSR Defense Ministry will help the farmers take in the harvest. Some 80,000 servicemen will be

giving a helping hand and 40,000 Army trucks will transporting the grain, vegetables, and fruit.

Last year the military truck drivers transported over 30 million tonnes of farm produce, and in 1990 the military transport planes started making commercial flights.

Besides flying on home routes, the military transport planes will bring to the Soviet Union about 15,000 tonnes of vegetables from Bulgaria and Poland till the end of the year.

Motor Battalions, Air Force Tasked

PM2307140591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 18 Jul 91 First Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent Captain B. Soldatenko under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Army Lends a Hand"]

[Text] USSR Ministry of Defense Press Center, 17 Jul—The USSR Ministry of Defense Press Center held a news conference in Moscow 17 July, devoted to the participation of USSR Ministry of Defense motor transport battalions and of military transport aviation in harvesting.

Specifically, it was noted that last year 94 motor transport battalions, constituting a force of 47,000 vehicles, were involved in harvesting. They transported 30.5 million tonnes of agricultural produce, including 16.5 million tonnes of grain.

This year the situation has changed somewhat. By a resolution of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers 80 motor transport battalions—40,000 vehicles—are being allocated for harvesting. Sixty battalions are being allocated in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]. As of today the motor transport battalions have gotten down to work in Bashkiria, Stavropol Kray, and seven RSFSR oblasts (Astrakhan, Volgograd, Voronezh, Orenburg, Orel, Ryazan, and Saratov).

However, there are problems. Thus, the local authorities in Stavropol Kray's Novoaleksandrovskiy Rayon have revoked the decision they adopted earlier and have informed the arriving servicemen that their help is not required. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has already written about this. There are similar cases in other regions of the country.

This year 37,000 soldiers and officers will participate in harvesting.

As regards aviation transport movements of agricultural produce, as of today military transport aircraft have already made 412 flights. Around 16,500 tonnes of freight have been transported.

Colonel N. Kiselev, deputy chief of staff of the leadership of USSR Ministry of Defense motor transport battalions, and Colonel Ye. Kryuchkov, chief of military transport aviation's air transport movement department, took part in the news conference proceedings.

Scientific

Two Underground Nuclear Power Stations Planned

LD2107102791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0800 GMT 21 Jul 91

[Text] It is planned by the year 2000 to have put two medium-capacity underground nuclear power stations into operation in the Soviet Union. This information was given at a conference in Moscow of Soviet scientists with a delegation of Japan's Atomic Industry Forum.

Specialists consider that the construction of underground nuclear power stations will provide more effective protection against radiation for the population and the environment. The construction of underground nuclear power stations does not rule out the construction of traditional nuclear power stations. [The same station in a similar item broadcast at 1630 GMT on 19 July adds: "In the opinion of scholars, it will take Soviet and foreign specialists a long time to create reactors of the future, so, for the time being, it is expedient to use underground nuclear power stations with serial reactors."]

Nuclear Capacity Reduction Due to Human Error

LD2307132491 Moscow TASS in English 1128 GMT 23 Jul 91

[Text] Moscow July 23 TASS—Soviet nuclear power plants worked only at 67 per cent capacity in the first six months of this year, according to a safety expert.

Out of the 59 stoppages 20 were caused by human errors, senior nuclear safety expert Anatoliy Mazalov said in an interview published in today's TRUD newspaper.

In April unit number one at the notorious Chernobyl nuclear "plant was stopped without the necessary protection, which was destroyed as a result of a short circuit, Mazalov said.

In May, three workers at the Ignalinskaya power plant were exposed to high radiation doses while commissioning equipment, he said.

Most incidents were due to a lack of "safety culture while maintaining reactors among administrative and management personnel," Mazalov believes.

Domestic Computer Modem Production Developed

OW2307094191 Moscow Central Television First Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 0930 GMT 22 Jul 91

[Video Report by I. Minayev; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] In our time of an information explosion, the methods of exchange and transmission of information are taking on an exceptionally important meaning. Do we always use these methods judiciously, and what do we

have to do to make the transfer of information quick and reliable? The answer to this question you will see in our correspondent's report. [video shows a personal computer screen, travelers at railway station, air terminal]

[Begin recording] [Minayev] Even the most powerful computer probably will not be able to answer the question of exactly how much time, on the scale of the whole country, our businessmen and merchants spend on the never ending business trips, agreements, and exchange of information. How many tons of business correspondence they cart from place to place. Information, of course, is a valuable commodity, however, is not the cost of it too great? [video cuts to show Minayev outside the Moscow Stock Exchange]

Today, many new commercial banks and exchanges are springing up. A market infrastructure is slowly being created in the country. However, its further development is, naturally, unthinkable without a proper and reliable system of communications; an opportunity to communicate with partners in other cities and countries. For example, at present, brokers have to stand in lines such as these for long periods of time. How much can one communicate by telephone? So, what is the solution? [video shows brokers on telephones, others waiting in line, the cuts to show another broker speaking on the telephone]

[Broker] Lipetsk? Please transmit the information. Thank you, we are receiving. [broker hangs up, begins work at the personal computer, large wall monitor displays graph showing selections being made with the aid of a mouse]

[Minayev] Only four seconds were required to exchange information between Lipetsk and Moscow via standard automatic telephone lines. The electronic intermediary in the dialogue between computers was this mechanism, the modem, developed by the specialists at the "Razvitiye" Scientific and Industrial Center. [video shows four circuit boards, then cuts to show two men gathered around the broker at a personal computer, then shows close up of the modem circuit board with the "Razvitiye" logo]

Of course, it is not like they have just invented the wheel. The West has assimilated this technology and is successfully using this electronic postal service. However, domestic modems differ in many respects from their foreign counterparts. The fact is, that they are adapted to our telephone system, let us put it this way, built with an allowance for its quality. Their cost is considerably less, and the savings in foreign exchange are not small. [video shows the modem circuit board being inserted into the computer, then cuts to show Minayev interviewing "Razvitiye" Computer Scientific and Industrial Center general director, Ya.V. Verzhbitskiy]

[Verzhbitskiy] In the future we will be able to increase productivity and manufacture approximately 5,000 modems per month. That is, each month the network will expand by 5-7,000 subscribers. We are also planning

communications not only within our country, but with foreign partners as well, amalgamating with those same exchanges [corrects himself] that is, joining the world system of exchanges. [end recording]

Expert System Attracts Interest of U.S. Firms

PM2307095591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 Jul 91 Second Edition p 4

[Report by correspondent V. Sukhoy: "The Machine... Invents"]

[Text] New York, 18 Jul—Americans have long been aware of the strength of Soviet mathematics. Now U.S. firms can see in practice that "those strange Russians" are indeed capable of creating first-class computer software.

The laboratory of invention machines in Minsk held a seminar in New York with the active involvement of the "Amtorg" joint-stock company. It presented its brainchild, the invention machine, on which Soviet scientists have been working for 17 years, for the Americans to pass judgment.

What is an invention machine? It is an artificial intelligence that makes it possible to solve complex scientific and engineering tasks in any sphere of technology. Essentially it is qualitatively new software for the computer plus a knowledge base to investigate unconventional technical options. The following examples will give an idea of the potential of the invention machine: A good inventor can come up with at most two concepts for eliminating system defects, whereas the machine can suggest 40; in his lifetime a highly skilled engineer is capable of proposing two or three schemes for effectively tackling technological problems, whereas an invention machine can find around 80; a graduate from a technical higher education establishment normally has an idea of 90-100 ways in which natural substances are physically affected, whereas an invention machine is "acquainted" with at least 1,200 physical, chemical, and biological effects...

Some 400 associations and firms in the Soviet Union are making successful use of the invention machine. It is also used by companies in Finland, Sweden, Canada, and France. One pulp and paper firm in Finland was able to reduce timber consumption from 14 to 1 percent using an invention machine.

How did the Americans react to the "Russian machine"? According to laboratory director Valeriy Tsurikov, the American firms' reaction went through three brief stages: cautious curiosity, interest, business partnership. The companies that are prepared to cooperate with the laboratory include Eastman Kodak (North Carolina) and a number of firms in California and Illinois. It looks like the theory for tackling invention tasks, strengthened in Minsk with the help of credits obtained from a new innovation bank, took the Americans' fancy. But one would like to see the invention machine actively helping to solve our considerable technical engineering problems as well. The laboratory is not going to drag its feet, its head insisted: It intends to offer consumers at least 30 new systems in the next few years.

Details of 'Sofora' Space Experiment

PM2407133591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
22 Jul 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report by S. Leskov: "Six Space Walks"]

[Text] Cosmonauts Anatoliy Artsebarskiy and Sergey Krikalev completed a scheduled space walk 17 July. Over the next two weeks they should carry out four more space walks.

All the work outside the Mir orbital station is dedicated to the Sofora experiment. Although Artsebarskiy and Krikalev have been in open space twice before, it has to be recognized that such intensive work outside the spacecraft is still without precedent in the entire practice of outer space exploration.

So what exactly is the Sofora experiment? As A. Chernyavskiy, one of the Sofora experiment's designers and a representative of the "Energiya" Science and Production Association, told IZVESTIYA's correspondent, the aim of Sofora is to test new methods for assembling large-scale structures in outer space using thermomechanical joints made from materials possessing a configuration memory effect. This complex terminology conceals a 14-meter long mast amply equipped with every possible kind of sensor. Already, on more than one occasion, previous crews have built various girder structures in outer space. The main difference with Sofora is that the latest structure will be collapsible, which means that its configuration can be altered if needed.

Furthermore, for the first time in outer space exploration history, advanced materials are being used which are capable of regaining their former shape after heating. It must be said that the work which the cosmonauts are carrying out with these materials could be used for conversion purposes. Already, materials with configuration memory effect are being applied in many exclusively Earth-based spheres: For example, stomatologists rely on these materials when correcting teeth. Incidentally, this is the most expensive piece of orthodontic apparatus in the world—10 thin wires cost \$59.

When assembling the girder, again for the first time in the history of outer space exploration, the crew is using special heating devices which are inserted into the joints linking the various elements of the giant girder. Previously these elements used to be joined by hinges, but the current method ensures the structure's greater durability. The designers believe that the girder itself will become the prototype for large-scale girder structures in future space exploration. Moreover, it is planned to use this mast for purely practical purposes as early as next year. A special unit for fastening the engine installation is attached to the end of the girder, and in view of the 14-meter long span, it will significantly facilitate the control of the orbital complex's massive bulk.

Two space walks are scheduled for 23 and 27 July, during which assembly work for the Sofora experiment will continue.

Estonia

More on 'Special Status' for Towns in Northeast

*LD2407103991 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network
in Estonian 1700 GMT 23 Jul 91*

[Text] Leaders of three towns in northeast Estonia have reported, according to the Baltic News Service agency, that they have sent a memorandum to both Arnold Ruutel, chairman of the Estonian Supreme Soviet, and Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar, which demands that northeast Estonia be given special status within the composition of the Republic of Estonia. The chairmen of Narva, Sillamae, and Kohtla-Jarve councils find that a region with special status must have the right to determine for itself its path of socioeconomic development, to have a budget of its own, and to adopt Republic of Estonia laws according to the special characteristics of the area. They announced that if this does not take place, the conflict between northeast Estonia and the republican leadership may assume an irreversible character, as the ideas of creating an independent Soviet Socialist Republic seceding from Estonia and joining the composition of Russia, are said to become more and more popular with the people. According to Refak of the northeast Estonian information agency, this document was read out at a news conference which took place after today's Narva town council session.

Narva's council did not go back on its decision to abolish the customs post at Narva, having carried out a special vote on this issue.

Granting of Special Status Supported

*LD2407172291 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1018 GMT 24 Jul 91*

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Tallinn, 24 Jul (TASS)—Chairmen of city soviets of Kohtla-Jarve, Sillamae and Narva people's deputies spoke in favor of granting a special status to northeastern Estonia where the majority of the population is Russian-speaking. This was said in their appeal to Arnold Ruutel, chairman of the Estonian Supreme Soviet, and Edgar Savisaar, chairman of the government.

In order to ensure political, social and economic stability, to strengthen legality and law and order in northeastern Estonia and in the Republic as a whole, taking the will of the absolute majority of the region's multi-ethnic population as a basis—the latter was expressed during the republican and union referendums—authors of the appeal think that the settlement of individual contradictions such as customs, prices, and others will not relieve the tension in the Republic.

Inhabitants of the northeast react accordingly to the attempts by the Supreme Soviet and Estonian Government to implement their policy unilaterally. Ideas of the

"Soviet Socialist Republic adjoining Narva" and secession from Estonia in favor of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic are becoming more and more popular. This can make aggravating contradictions insurmountable.

"The way out of the situation which has taken shape is to grant special status to northeastern Estonia, which envisages independent social and economic development by forming the budget from below, and the use of republican laws taking account of the region's specific features," stresses the appeal.

Minister Comments on Narva Crisis

*OW2507081891 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1500 GMT 24 Jul 91*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an interview for BF [BALTFAX] the Estonian Minister for Inter-Ethnic Relations Artur Kuznetsov has said that the declaration of the leaders of three northeastern cities with a predominantly Russian population is "a serious signal" for the Estonian leadership.

The appeal of the mayors of Narva, Sillamae and Kohtla Jarve to the chairman of the Estonian Parliament Arnold Ruutel and Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar published on Tuesday after a session of the Narva City Council demands the beginning of talks on a special status for the north-east of Estonia. If such talks are not started, the appeal claims, the conflict with the leadership of the republic might become insoluble and the area with a predominantly non-Estonian population opposed to Estonia's secession from the USSR might proclaim a separate republic that will secede from Estonia and join the Russian Federation.

According to Kuznetsov, a resolute step to autonomy might be taken not earlier than in August when the city councils of the three towns might hold a joint session. This gives the government some time for maneuvering, the minister said.

Kuznetsov feels that Leningrad can act as a mediator in the Narva crisis because it is interested in stability in the area for carrying out its plan for a free economic zone.

On the other hand, Kuznetsov said, according to sources close to the Estonian Government, company managers from Narva are much more "pragmatic" than city council members. "We should cooperate with these people more closely", he stressed.

The minister also described as a bad mistake the decision of the Estonian Parliament to suspend government activities to set up a free economic zone in the area of Narva. "After that I expected the outburst of a crisis in Narva", Artur Kuznetsov said.

Latvia

Official, Deputy Criticize Foreign Ministry

OW2507082091 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1500 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an interview for the weekly LAUKU AVIZE the head of the Latvian mission in Moscow Janis Peters has criticized the Latvian Foreign Ministry and the minister Janis Jurkans.

Peters said that "Latvia simply does not have a clear-cut foreign policy concept". In his opinion the activities of the ministry are oriented solely to the West while the Eastern policy is made spontaneously in a "slapdash" manner.

His deputy head Andrei Eizans said that representatives of the Interfronts of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania led by Alksnis, Kogan, Shamikhin and Pupkevich are the best working Baltic deputies in Moscow.

"We cannot function as the 3rd Congress of People's Deputies when the Vice-Chairman of the Latvian Parliament Dainis Ivans came and took the deputies home", Eizans said. "Ivans does not work himself and does let others, while we are wasting our time in Moscow," he declared.

Lithuania

Reaction to Vilnius Coalition Government Idea

LD2407154291 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International
Service in Lithuanian 0100 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Report by station correspondent Roma Pakeniene]

[Text] An initiative was announced by Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius more than a month ago. He invited all the political forces in Lithuania to act in concordance, to refrain from political actions during the period of economic reforms and to solve all disagreements at roundtable discussions.

At this point another innovation was also mentioned, which was the future expansion of the government while granting high-ranking posts to the representatives of some political parties. This proposal was not noticed by the public immediately. Only two weeks ago, when Gediminas Vagnorius proposed appointing two new cabinet members, activists of the Labor Party and the National Union, did the debate concerning such a step by the government widen considerably.

Gediminas Vagnorius wrote in his article published in the daily TIESA that he regarded this proposal as an attempt to stabilize the internal situation and to start forming a government with a broader coalition. In his opinion, bearing in mind the especially difficult situation in Lithuania today, such a government would be

very useful. According to Gediminas Kirkilas, a coalition government could be formed from the most important forces supporting democracy and independence.

The independent press did not regard these efforts by Gediminas Vagnorius as essentially an attempt to reform the government but saw it as a mere cosmetic operation. On the other hand, the press noted that this step by the prime minister indicates that he is becoming a more independent political figure in the life of Lithuania.

Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, did not stand aloof in the discussion either. He declared that today there is no need to reform the Government of Lithuania, the more so on the basis of a coalition. Here the Parliament leader based himself on the experience of the first government of the Republic of Lithuania which, in his view, was a coalition government and yet was not resolute enough in implementing reforms. I doubt if another coalition government would be more resolute, Vytautas Landsbergis maintained. Meanwhile, it seems that Gediminas Vagnorius wants to ensure more public support for himself. He needs a coalition base or, to be more precise, a quasi-coalition base in preparing to adopt unpopular economic decisions, thus sharing the responsibility with other political forces. It looks as if these forces are inclined to share this responsibility, and they are ready to accept such a proposal, although with some reservations.

Vladimiras Beriozovas, one of the leaders of the Labor Party, thinks that a coalition government would provide a better reflection of the distribution of political forces in society, something which, in his opinion, cannot be said about the Supreme Council. On the other hand, V. Beriozovas said, I do not fully understand what the real intentions are, and I believe that this is not completely open and fair play. He did not reject the possibility that both Gediminas Kirkilas and the Labor Party could later be accused of harmful activities. However, according to Vladimiras Beriozovas, there is no need to be afraid of it in advance. We must proceed open-heartedly and hope that this will not happen. I asked him if the issue has been discussed by the Labor Party.

[Begin Beriozovas recording] The issue was discussed by the party, and we do not think that we should reject it out of hand, because our party stands for cooperation and agreement. However, we are prepared to do this on certain conditions: If this is indeed a step toward a coalition government and if this is a renunciation of the attacks organized against our party or the forum of the future of Lithuania, if an agreement between the parties is made concerning radio and television so that not only the representatives of the right-wing parties have access to it but equal rights are granted to all parties, then if the candidacy of Gediminas Kirkilas is accepted with the above reservations, then he could join this government so that the first step toward a coalition and a certain agreement is made. [end recording]

Aloizas Sakalas, leader of the Social Democratic Party [SDP] which is another left-wing party, told Radio Vilnius that he regards all this as a mere cosmetic operation aimed at holding some parties under subordination, or trying to make them less noisy. Anyway, the Social Democrats have never supported the idea of a government formed from only the right-wing or the left-wing parties, so the current attempts by the government are regarded as a search for some agreement. According to Aloizas Sakalas, the Social Democrats do not suggest actively entering the government either before or at present. However, if such a need arises, they are ready to come to the table and to give their advice on how such a coalition cabinet could be formed.

I asked him if Lithuania needs a coalition government today:

[Begin A. Sakalas recording] This depends on the parliamentary majority. There is this possibility. If the majority of the Parliament thinks that it is necessary to consolidate the people of Lithuania and not to push the laws by force—as you saw at today's sitting, this does not always succeed—then probably they will sit down at the round table and will propose some sort of a way out.

I personally believe this is the only way that political concord among people can be reached and not by some slogans and agreements. When the political forces reach an agreement and pursue one and the same program, then there is no need to make a stir. [end recording]

That is the opinion of Aloizas Sakalas, leader of the SDP. Meanwhile, the activists of the political forces representing the majority of the Parliament believe that today it is too premature to speak about any coalition. Virgilijus Cepaitis, leader of the Independence Party, maintains that the destructive activities of the left-wing deputies during the adoption of especially important decisions by the Supreme Council is the basis for such an opinion to arise. This can also be illustrated by today's example when the appointment of the minister of internal affairs by G. Vagnorius was once again hampered by the leftists, the centrists, and the liberals. I think that at the moment restructuring of the government is absolutely unnecessary, V. Cepaitis said. We simply must reinforce the existing government.

When asked what the coalition government would mean to Lithuania and why it is not acceptable to the majority of the Parliament, Virgilijus Cepaitis answered:

[Begin Cepaitis recording] I think that the coalition government has the following shortcomings, which were well reflected during the time when the land reform law and the law on return of property were being adopted, that is, the considerable compromises which had been reached in an attempt to coordinate the opinions made the decisions less radical. At present the most important thing here in Lithuania is to make essential reforms in order that both our economy and our agriculture and, after all, everything we have in Lithuania will change.

However, such a coalition government would make the decisions less radical and would distance our reforms. I think that, unfortunately, at this moment, at the turning point, the period of transition, the government must be as radical as possible. [end recording]

According to V. Cepaitis' viewpoint, the coalition of right-wing forces possibly could be acceptable to Lithuania in which, no doubt, the Independence Party would also take part. This opinion was supported by Antanas Terleckas, leader of the especially radically inclined political force, the Lithuanian Liberty League. He rather categorically opposes the wish of G. Vagnorius to invite representatives of the left-wing parties into the government. Antanas Terleckas labeled these actions as political ignorance. In his view this is nothing other than concessions to the Communists which compromise both the leader himself, Lithuania, and the very idea of our freedom and independence.

Philosopher Vytautas Radzvilas, leader of the Union of Liberals, which is yet another force in opposition to the government, described the attempt to restructure the government as an expression of a deepening political and economic crisis in Lithuania in which the government is forced to maneuver whether it likes it or not.

[Begin Radzvilas recording] We know very well that in fact this is the government supported by the right-wing parties, although individual people do not belong to these parties. However, in such cases, and this has been proved by various countries' experience, the government attempts to please the widest possible political and social strata.

However, giving a sober assessment of the situation in Lithuania one must recognize that the preconditions for the formation of a coalition government are not yet fully mature. These first of all have to mature at the grassroots and thus the proposals by the prime minister will yield no results in the immediate future. On the contrary, if the representatives of these parties entered the government as ministers without portfolio, then this would be yet another blow to the normal growth of parties in Lithuania. [end recording]

According to liberal V. Radzvilas, the government's desire to strengthen its powers means that the policy pursued by the authorities does not enjoy natural support in society and does not correspond to the interests of the wide layers of the population. In his opinion the government should proceed along a rather different course: to negotiate with the opposition in specially established negotiation groups and not on the television screen. Long patient hours must be spent at the negotiation table in preparing and signing documents which define the obligations for all the parties concerned.

Concerning the coalition government, V. Radzvilas believes this will only be possible after the new elections to the Supreme Council. I am sure, he said, that no other type of government in Lithuania at that time will be

possible because no single political force will be able to obtain an absolute majority.

Campaign in Defense of Vilnius OMON Continues

LD2407153191 Moscow TASS in English
1357 GMT 24 Jul 91

[By TASS correspondent Serafim Bykhun]

[Text] Vilnius July 24 TASS—A campaign in defence and support of the Vilnius OMON special purpose unit of the Soviet Interior Ministry continues in Lithuania.

Work collectives, public organisations and individual citizens send numerous telegrams to the Soviet leadership, Lithuanian Communist Party city and district committees and news organisations issue statements.

"I fully support the actions of Vilnius's OMON. It is a guarantor for implementing the USSR president's decrees, the USSR and the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] constitutions on the Lithuanian territory and is one of the few organisations in the Republic, protecting citizens from lawlessness and violence by fascist elements," Ch. Vysotskiy, chairman of the Salcininkai District Council, said in a message to Soviet Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov, his First Deputy Vitaliy Doguzhiyev and Interior Minister Boris Pugo.

"A recent statement by the Soviet Interior Ministry, concerning the actions of Vilnius's OMON, shows that Interior Ministry officials do not take the balance of forces in Lithuania into account," Kaunas Communists said in a statement.

"Common sense points out that if OMON is included in the republican Interior Ministry, it will not be able to fulfil the USSR president's orders, because they are considered laws of an alien state on Lithuanian territory," the statement said.

"We, the Communists of the city of Kaunas, fully support the Vilnius OMON and believe that it is a potent, real force opposing the antipopular political aim of Lithuanian separatists who already have paramilitary and punitive bodies. OMON actions by no means contradict the interests of a common Lithuanian worker," it said.

Warehouse 'Confiscation' by Soviet Soldiers

OW2507043791 Moscow BALTFAX in English
1230 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] BF's [BALTFAX] correspondent reports on July 24 at 2:15 a.m. ten military trucks with 30 armed Soviet Army soldiers arrived at the village of Nemezis of the Vilnius region in Lithuania.

Stopping by a warehouse belonging to the Lithuanian Interior Ministry's fire prevention department they captured a watchman and began to take equipment out of the warehouse: 10 automobiles, 1 armored fire protection vehicle, 5 accumulators, etc.

Attackers showed the watchman a warrant on "confiscation of equipment belonging to the Lithuanian Association of Volunteers Supporting the Army and the Navy (DOSAAF).

Press Attache of the Lithuanian Parliament Audrius Ajubalis says the soldiers "have overdone it" because the warehouse does not belong to the DOSAAF.

More on Soviet Troops' 'Plundering'

LD2407192991 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network
in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Text] Plundering by servicemen of the Soviet Armed Forces continue. On the night of 23 July about 30 armed soldiers were playing the master in the garage of the (Nemezis) collective farm in Vilnius Rayon, which is rented by the Fire Fighting Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Having arrived in ten military trucks, the servicemen broke down the door and seized ten vehicles, including fire trucks, a special fire-fighting armoured vehicle, and a large quantity of other equipment. All this was taken to [words indistinct]. The garage's guard was locked in, and a guard was left with him. [Words indistinct] a copy of order number 52 of the Baltic Military District commander on the removal of equipment from the former premises of the DOSAAF [Voluntary Society for Promotion of Army, Aviation, and Navy] training institutions was left.

A letter of protest about this incident from acting Minister of Internal Affairs Misiukonis has been handed to the commander of the Baltic Military District.

Further Reaction on Yeltsin Departyization Decree**Yeltsin Defends Decree**

*LD2407122491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 1100 GMT 24 Jul 91*

[Text] Official talks took place in the Kremlin today between Boris Yeltsin and Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis at the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] president's residence. We will tell you the details of this meeting later. Meanwhile, at the news conference our correspondent Andrey Veduta attended, journalists could not, of course, pass over the issue of departyization:

[Veduta] In particular, asked whether the decree was not unconstitutional, as representatives of the RSFSR Communist Party have stated, Boris Yeltsin, in the presence of the Greek prime minister, replied:

[Begin Yeltsin recording] The Russian Communist Party quite simply has poor knowledge of the Constitution. They should read the Constitution closely. The decree was drafted by lawyers and legislators who are quite familiar with the whole constitutional process and with our Constitution, and it does not contradict the Constitution. The time has come for them to stop hampering reforms. [end recording]

[Veduta] Concerning the appeal to the people signed by Valentin Rasputin, Boris Gromov, Lyudmila Zykina, and others, published yesterday in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, Boris Yeltsin said:

[Begin Yeltsin recording] Well, of course, I will not support this statement. It does not benefit society. It will not help to carry out reforms. It is a futile wailing that does us no good. That is to say nothing about certain expressions in it virtually calling for the overthrow of the system. One could make them answer for that, but it is something Russia can do without. As for those who do not implement the decree, we do have a law that speaks very firmly about liability for nonfulfillment of laws or decrees, and we will act quite decisively here, although we have not set any deadline, and we will not, of course, follow a line such that, let us say, in a month all party organizations at enterprises, factories, and in state offices have to cease functioning.

We have also provided for employment of those who will be freed—those seconded full time to party work. That is also an act, I would say, of civic accord. I understand them; at the moment there can be things that are not simply just ill-considered, but the unparliamentary expressions, so to speak, again a certain hounding, even, has begun. But I think that this decree has been drafted over a long time and it was necessary to adopt it. [end recording]

Russian TV Views Decree

*LD2407212191 Moscow Russian Television Network
in Russian 1520 GMT 24 Jul 91*

[Unscheduled "Republic" program, presented by Sergey Torchinskiy, with Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) Vice President Aleksandr Vladimirovich Rutskoy, and Sergey Mikhaylovich Shakh-ray, "RSFSR adviser on legal policy"]

[Text] [Torchinskiy] Hello, Russian Television's "Republic" creative association welcomes you. My name is Sergey Torchinskiy. We have had to change our programming because there have been dozens of calls since this morning. The telephone has been ringing virtually nonstop. Questions, questions, questions. It is all to do with Decree 14, the presidential decree.

We have invited Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Vice President Aleksandr Vladimirovich Rutskoy and Sergey Mikhaylovich Shakh-ray, who now has a new position as RSFSR adviser on legal policy, to our studio. And so the essence of the question is, in the first place, why has there been such an unbelievable reaction to a document, an unbelievably negative reaction to a document which on the whole everyone has been waiting for for a long time, which was clearly necessary, which really gives, lays democratic foundations for a normal law-based society? Why has there been such a reaction? This is on the one hand.

On the other hand, there is the accusation that the decree violates certain articles of the Constitution, that it contradicts existing legislation.

Sergey Mikhaylovich, in my opinion the most important thing is how fair is this accusation?

[Shakh-ray] Well, I want to say with full responsibility that this is simply disinformation of public opinion, this statement on the unconstitutional nature of the present decree. Moreover, the decree has only been published from in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and ROSSISKAYA GAZETA. It hasn't appeared in the provinces. The central press hasn't published it. And the mass media are being used to disinform the population and frighten them, to show that here's one bugbear, there's another bugbear.

I suggest specifically: the first assertion that the decree contradicts the Russian Federation Constitution, Articles 49, 6, and 7. RSFSR citizens, the Russian Federation Constitution says, in accordance with the law have the right to form public associations and mass movements and to participate in their activities. Public organizations are guaranteed the conditions for the successful performance by them of their statutory tasks. The presidential decree contains an additional guarantee of the personal right of citizens, the constitutional rights of citizens, to join in political parties and mass political movements.

Participation, or nonparticipation, the presidential decree says, by a citizen in the activities of political parties and mass public movements cannot serve as a basis for the limitation of their rights, including the right to occupy any position, unless otherwise determined by RSFSR legislation. The activities of political parties must have a constitutional basis, a legislative basis, behind them, and I think that that nonconstitutional actual position which is preserved in our society, despite Article 6 of the Union and Russian Constitution being repealed, despite the repeal of this article of the Constitution, there remain party committees, bureaus, other structures, all belonging to one party as a rule, which apart from carrying out the political rights of citizens at associations, also continue to carry out functions of administration of state enterprises, ministries, and departments, namely the functions of state administration.

[Torchinskiy] How many resolutions were there on the recruitment and placing of personnel? This is one of administration's important functions.

[Shakhray] It is precisely the monopoly of one party, the monopoly of the organizational structures of one party in public and political life, which is nonconstitutional behavior. And the presidential decree is aimed at laying a foundation for constitutional equal rights of any political party....

[Rutskoy] Yes, this is stated in the preamble.

[Shakhray] ...And mass political movements.

Further, the next accusation is that this decree tramples upon universally recognized international declarations and human rights. First of all, this decree has been examined. It has undergone international expert examination, and not even one international pact on human rights, including those signed by the Soviet Union, has been violated.

The next accusation is that by signing this decree the president exceeded his authority granted to him by Article 8 of the law on presidential power. Neither the Constitution, nor the congress, nor the Supreme Soviet has resolved this issue in such a way. So, this is a bare-faced lie once again.

First of all, the Supreme Soviet included a point in its recently adopted law on the militia, in Article 19, saying that the activities of the organizational structures of political parties are prohibited within internal affairs bodies. Hence, this process has begun. It has not just matured but has been legally implemented as well. And this decree was issued on the basis of existing principles of the Constitution of the Russian Federation. What other means do they use? They start to intimidate trade unions, veterans' movements, and women's councils, saying that their activities will be prohibited. On the contrary, it is directly stressed in this decree that the activities of the organizational structures of trade unions

are implemented under an agreement between the management of state establishments, organizations, enterprises, and labor collectives. We are not talking about the fact that trade unions should be disbanded and re-registered. The point is that the forms of trade unions' activities should be regulated by agreements.

What will these agreements contain? They will establish a law on the Russian Federation which was put forward by the confederation of independent trade unions as a legislative initiative to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. It will be adopted in September. I think that the president has every reason to support this legislative initiative of trade unions and to implement it.

Moreover, trade unions do not belong to any political parties and mass political public movements. It is a public organization which has its own regulations. And trade unions' activities will continue to be carried out on the basis of their regulations, on the basis of Union laws and those Russian laws which we will adopt at the September sitting of the Supreme Soviet. And finally, one more lie and one more accusation. They are saying that his decree abolished all joint documents of the Council of Ministers and CPSU Central Committee. They exclaim: How could he do this? After all, those documents introduced benefits for the veterans. They deal with health care issues and other social benefits and advantages. But this is a bare-face lie once again, because the decree is saying that those joint documents must be inventoried. The RSFSR Council of Ministers should resolve the issue of suspending the validity of joint documents of the CPSU Central Committee and RSFSR Council of Ministers on the territory of Russia. We are not talking about abolishing them. But among those joint decrees there are some which hand over publishing houses, enterprises, and rest houses to party structures without any legal grounds for doing so. Among those joint documents there are some which form anti-constitutional bodies. For example, in 1990, in other words not during the years of stagnation, a joint decree of the Tyumen Party Oblast Committee and the Executive Committee was adopted. A limited number of members of the Executive Committee were elected. They were mixed with party structures and their aim was to replace lawfully elected bodies of power. Such documents must be revealed and presented to the president so that he can abolish them.

In other words we are not talking about abolishing the documents automatically, and moreover, the ones which contain citizens' social guarantees and benefits. In other words they disinform people and lie to them.

[Torchinskiy] So in other words we are talking about a process which is obvious and clear to everyone—the CPSU should be deprived of its monopoly of power. This is what we are talking about.

[Shakhray] Absolutely.

[Torchinskiy] In all its manifestations.

[Shakhray] And one party's monopoly of power, after the Russian and Union Constitutions have been changed, is an anticonstitutional activity and anti-constitutional practice. So in other words the Russian president's decree was examined from the viewpoint of law and international law. And I think that appeals put forward by the Politburo and other party structures to the Union president and the USSR Constitution Supervision Committee in order to repudiate this decree won't be heard. First of all, there are no reasons for doing so as far as the contents of the decree are concerned. Second, neither the Union president, nor the Constitution Supervision Committee has legal grounds to cancel decrees of the RSFSR president.

[Torchinskiy] And, moreover, I think that the decree is written in such a clear-cut and comprehensive manner, and its major aims are so clear and its main essence is to ensure equal rights, to ensure equal right. It even protects the CPSU.

[Rutskoy] This is exactly what it starts with: to ensure equal rights of political parties and mass public movements established by the RSFSR Constitution. Equality of rights.

[Shakhray] Equal rights and equal protection.

[Rutskoy] Yes. And here they say that this decree correspondingly exacerbates the political situation in the country and hinders the development of a multiparty system. Well, you know, I sat down with the materials of the news conference of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party [RCP] about the presidential's decree; well, I sat down and read it very attentively. I took it and read it and went through it. It is simply a collection of illiterate phrases: The decree contravenes Article 49 of the RSFSR Constitution. But look at Article 49 and read what is written there. It tramples on the universally acknowledged International Declaration of Human Rights. How does it trample it if the participation or nonparticipation of a citizen in the activity of political parties and mass public movements cannot serve as grounds for restricting their rights, including the right to occupy any post or anything else established by the legislation of the RSFSR? On the contrary, rights are being given.

In our country, even in the army, if someone tries to leave the party they immediately try to bring him into line; their own line. This decree gives the right to people, to every citizen, to engage in any public activity which does not run contrary to the Constitution. But at the same time he has relevant rights and cannot be restricted in any way—in the choice of profession, in his post and so on.

[Shakhray] That is, what is not allowed is what is known in our press as the ban on professions. Moreover, excuse me Aleksandr Vladimirovich, look at the fourth point. We knew that it was possible to become a civil servant and occupy some state post only if you were a member of the CPSU. Now it is forbidden to say in any official

documents, in application forms and similar documents it is forbidden to state or to require anyone to state whether they belong to any political party. That is, there are increased guarantees of equality among citizens.

[Torchinskiy] And if one bears in mind the range of professions in which only a member of the CPSU could count on any advancement, and these were very attractive professions, all of our diplomatic service, all the prestige professions....

[Rutskoy] Let me quote again from the decree. A civil servant has the right to participate in the activity of political parties and mass public movements, outside working time and outside state bodies.

[Torchinskiy] And the vice president is setting an example here, outside working time....

[Rutskoy] I make no secret of this. They also talk about this saying: At the plenum of the RCP Central Committee I stated that the Movement of Communists for Democracy is being created as a parliamentary grouping and at the same time a founding congress of this movement is being prepared with the aim of transforming it into a party. Of course, it will be transformed into a party because such a party as the RCP is today—well, look what it is doing.

If we are really speaking about the infringement of rights, about democracy and so on, then look at the RCP Central Committee which held a news conference about the article "A word to the people" which was published in all the mass media, unlike the decree. The article contains frank appeals for civil war. Frank appeals. It frankly slings mud at the USSR President. True, they do not name names here, but everyone understands who this is all about.

[Torchinskiy] This is being done when, after the Russian presidential election, everything became clear—who is supported by this people that they are appealing to.

[Rutskoy] Look at it again: Old and young let us awake, let us come to our senses and stand up for our country. Let us say 'No' to the destroyers and aggressors. Let us set the limit for our withdrawal on the final line of resistance. What aggressors, what destroyers.

[Torchinskiy] It is a pity that this was signed by General Gromov, who was a vice presidential candidate.

[Rutskoy] [continuing to quote article] We are starting a movement of the whole people and we invite into our ranks those who are aware of the terrible disaster which has befallen the country.

Who are these people? Well, naturally, everyone, in towns and villages, in the steppes and the forests, by the shores of the great oceans washing the country, let us awake and stand up for unity and to rebuff those who are destroying Russia.

You know this is just rubbish. And look at the people who have signed this. I have, I had, the deepest respect for Varennikov and Gromov. And you know what state those people must have been in to sign such a document.

[Torchinskiy] But what is the position of Yazov and what is the position of Pugo? These are their first deputies.

[Rutskoy] You understand, evidently they first had to read what is written here. And perhaps a person would be in sort of a state of euphoria when signing this document.

[Shakhray] This is a very serious aspect which has been brought up here. These are a first deputy minister of internal affairs and a first deputy minister of defense. So, is this the position of the army? Is it the position of the internal affairs bodies?

[Torchinskiy] If it is, then this is terrible. If it is not, then how can these people remain in their posts?

[Rutskoy] You see: [quoting] We direct our voice to the army and thus appeal to the army on this.

What is this, the people's word calling for a coup d'etat and civil war? But why would the Communist Party, which defends the interests of the people, hold a news conference on this material? If one looks at all this from a legal point of view, then all the signatories could be boldly brought to criminal account for making appeals for anti-constitutional actions.

[Torchinskiy] For making appeals to use violence to change the existing order.

[Rutskoy] You see what I'm getting at? And yesterday—in non-working time, as you said—I was holding a conference of the Democratic Party of Russian Communists [Demokraticheskaya Partiya Kommunistov Rossii] on the subject of the decree. It was a conference called purely to discuss questions. And communists asked questions about this decree. I explained it to them. I explained literally every point. People understood everything perfectly. I explained that we are now setting up a new party, the Democratic Party of Russian Communists, which will consider its fundamental and principal aim to be the defense of the interests of the people. What people? People living in a given territory. Thus, the organizational principle of the new party is, as far as we are concerned, territorial. An enterprise or state institution is the place where people work and carry out their duties, for which they are paid. As far as territory, or a rayon, or housing district, or some settlement or town soviet are concerned, that is where people live and they must defend those interests. So the most important purpose of parties and socio-political movements is people. Take any socio-political movement—they really are about people. And that is the position parties must adopt.

[Torchinskiy] And aside from that, let's take a look at the mechanism for setting up structures of power—they are

set up along territorial principles. If a party wants to be successful, if it wants to be a genuinely parliamentary party, what other principles is possible apart from the territorial one? And those canvassers going from factory to factory distributing ("ballot-papers")....

[Rutskoy] You see....

[Torchinskiy] ...It's just not serious.

[Rutskoy] Let's be frank. Sergey Mikhaylovich and I are both members of the Communist Party. And this press conference most of all resembles a death agony, in the full sense of the phrase. Once again, the esteemed leaders of the RCP Central Committee have demonstrated that they are struggling not for the interests of the people, but for their own power, the power to rule the people but not to defend the interests of the people.

You see what I'm saying? Just look. There is this decree now, and we shall insist that this decree is implemented, because it is a constitutional decree, and we shall be insisting on its implementation. What is happening? The rayon committees and oblast committees existing today end up with nothing to do. And the principle of party organization that existed earlier will simply not be capable of....

[Torchinskiy] There are industrial departments, rural departments, and so on, and now economic ones.

[Rutskoy] Yes. And you can understand why they've started to run through all the charges in turn—infringement of rights, hindering the development of a multiparty system, exacerbating the political situation in the country. But here is what is exacerbating the political situation in the country: A Word to the People. This is what is no doubt exacerbating it. And they are here undermining the foundations of the process of democratization.

[Torchinskiy] The idea is to pile up the verbiage as rapidly as possible to muddy the waters. It's a striking fact that the decree hasn't yet been published in full, and it's already being attacked.

[Rutskoy] All these connections and non-connections in this regard and the excessive politization of our society is what brought about the state of ruin we have now.

[Torchinskiy] Of course.

[Rutskoy] We must get down to real work, and the decree really does permit the heads of enterprises and the heads of state institutions to do their job without the influence of....

[Torchinskiy] So politics and political campaigning are one thing, and economic activity is another. They shouldn't overlap.

[Rutskoy] Yes, the reason is that the manager of a civilian institution or enterprise, or an employee, should

do their jobs in line with their functions and duties. In their free time, when they are not working, they can go ahead.

[Torchinskiy] And people won't be afraid of being summoned to a party committee meeting and facing a reprimand. Sergey Mikhaylovich, you wanted to say something?

[Shakhray] I wanted to add this. We're not saying that any or all political activity is being banned at enterprises and in labor collectives. No. We're saying that the activity of organizational structures is prohibited at particular enterprises or state institutions. If you want to hold a meeting, go ahead. If you want a meeting with a candidate from your party who is standing for deputy, go ahead. Nothing of this is prohibited. All this is allowed for industrial, clerical, and professional workers. We are only saying that state employees—people in the law enforcement bodies, in the courts, in the KGB, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, representatives of the administration, people serving the state—must pursue their political activities in the place where they live. This is a very proper principle—the transfer from a workplace principle to a territorial principle of political activity. People in state service are guided in their official duties by the demands of RSFSR legislation and are not tied by the decisions of political parties and mass social movements. What objection can one have to that? None! There are accusations about contraventions of the multiparty principle. The reverse is the case. If all parties are given equal terms and placed on an equal political footing, a multiparty situation can only begin after that. What multiparty system can there be if one party has a monopoly?

[Rutskoy] Well, now if one follows the principle expounded at the news conference, one has to set up party bureaus of the democratic party, the Social Democratic party, the Communist Party, the Liberal Democratic Party—how many bureaus should there be at a plant? After all, a plant, an institution, or a research institute should first of all perform its duties. The same is true about the KGB, the court, or the army.

[Torchinskiy] And then, we know very well that—I do not know about the KGB but the militia in the recent past was governed by the telephone rule, the same as the courts, and all. There was incredible arbitrariness. Because of the fact that these structures were active in those bodies there was incredible arbitrariness, for decades. After all, this is great experience for the CPSU. After all, the CPSU must be the first to ensure ridding itself of such a situation, you see.

[Rutskoy] I will just read point two: The RSFSR president publishes a decree banning the activity of parties and public organizations in state organizations while the vice president is engaging in setting up a party. I say, one is struck by this short-sightedness, peevishness, or malice, you see.

[Torchinskiy] This is inability to see processes taking place in reality.

[Rutskoy] This is life, this is life. There are democratic processes and changes under way in the party and society, too, this is a natural process, after all. Incidentally, yesterday's conference was very interesting. It was attended by party veterans with membership records of 50, 55, 40, or 30 years. And they voiced very interesting views.

[Torchinskiy] And what was their attitude to the decree?

[Rutskoy] You know, about 40 questions were asked after my speech, all regarding the decree. We took the Constitution, we took the decree, and I suggested: Let us do it the following way to avoid mutual recriminations, let us simply examine each clause. We read the preamble and Clause 1, then I referred to the Constitution and legislation and we continued literally clause by clause. Finally, when we finished, there was only a single question: How are we now to set up a party organization? For those who, respectively, join the Democratic Party of Russian Communists the principle of formation will be exclusively territorial. And, accordingly, there will be no need for all those unwieldy rayon and oblast committees. They will simply be unnecessary. There will be a territorial principle of formation and the main goal will be defending the interests of the people residing on this territory, defending social interests, through elections.

In five years, say, social democrats will come or liberals—this is natural, the whole civilized world lives that way. Why do we have to be different from everybody else? Nobody has congresses but we have, nobody has rayon or oblast committees but we have, you see. And of course, I understand these people perfectly but here again, look at the decree, just a moment: The RSFSR Council of Ministers, the Council of Ministers of the republics within the Russian Federation, the executive bodies of soviets of RSFSR people's deputies should take all the necessary measures for finding work for those released following the implementation of this decree.

[Shakhray] That is, the state even takes upon itself a guarantee of social and labor protection.

[Torchinskiy] Students joined these structures. They grew up in Komsomol committees, then in CPSU rayon committees, then held some posts, have no other skills. Generally speaking, it is not their fault, they were drawn into this machinery.

[Shakhray] They are citizens of the Russian Federation.

[Rutskoy] And again the president envisages this point, that is, they should be placed in jobs by all means. He instructs to solve the problem of job finding and it is an obligatory part of the decree. So where is a breach of democracy here?

[Torchinskiy] Sergey Mikhaylovich, I have a question. There is a ban on the activity of structures in executive committees of rayon and local soviets here. Could you

comment upon what shape all this will take in the Supreme Soviet and in executive committees?

[Shakhray] Yes, you were right in drawing attention to this fact. The decree does not extend to deputies of all levels. At the Russian Supreme Soviet, in oblast and other soviets, deputies can adhere to various political views and, as deputies, they can unite on the basis of political principles into factions and groups, such as the Communists for Democracy, for example, and to work.

The decree is to have an effect on the apparat only. The apparat is an executive body. And what is the president? He is the head of executive power, the highest official of the Russian Federation, and in the first place, he needs to make sure that the executive power works. One of the factors which hampers the work of the executive bodies is the monopoly by one party, the existence of the organizational structures of these executive bodies which are the levers of subversion. They have a cover, party protection in the highest echelons in the Union republics, and they say no—they say, we do not accept your laws or your decrees. Can the president reconcile himself to this? No. He has the duty to see that all the Russian Federation's laws take effect. It was for this very reason that the people elected a president—to see that all of our beginnings do not merely remain on paper. And the president has taken this duty upon himself, in complete accordance with the Constitution.

So, it is only on the apparat and the executive structure that this decree is to have an effect, not on the deputies, not on the free political activity of the deputies.

[Torchinskiy] And once more, if this situation, so to speak, is reapplied to the CPSU structures, to the CPSU rules, then those communists who are today able to sabotage any resolution—not only are they able to, they are obliged to—if it has been resolved by some sort of party organization then they are democratically centralized and they are obliged to implement the resolutions of the bodies senior to them. It is here, it is probably here that this needs to be brought very carefully into line, to guarantee that not a single state civil servant will be under the authority of any party or any resolution which contradicts the law. He should only be subordinate to the law. The law, the law, and nothing but the law.

[Shakhray] Therefore I will repeat the norm laid down in the decree, that any person in state service is not bound by the resolutions of political parties or mass public movements. If a government servant allows his activities to be governed by the resolutions of political parties, this will serve as a basis for his dismissal insofar as it does not correspond to the post he holds. You can choose. You have the freedom to choose. No one is putting pressure on you. If you want to pursue a political career—then become a deputy, get involved with politics, take part in the organization of political structures on a territorial basis. You have the freedom to choose—enter state service, build yourself a career as a diplomat, as a civil servant, a career in the presidential administration. You

have a choice, so you know that in the service of the state, you leave your party loyalties in your pocket, at home, in your briefcase, and you carry out your functions as a servant of the state.

When your working day is over, go to a political club, go to an assembly or a meeting. No one will prosecute you for this, they will not punish you.

[Torchinskiy] And besides this, don't you think that a strange political system has come into being here in which the meaning of the party for the people is exaggerated in many respects. These rituals, you recall, around the party membership card, do not lose your party membership card or you are lost and so on. This was the powerful structure of democratic centralism of the strongest and all-powerful party; in essence, they were the principles of a semi-military organization.

[Rutskoy] Or even a military organization. The fact is—let's have a look at the principles by which the KGB was formed and who was in charge of them.

[Shakhray] And why it was formed.

[Rutskoy] And why it still exists, in essence. And let's examine this further. By what principle do we now state that the command-administrative system was at fault for everything which took place here? And, [inaudible interruption] ...wait a moment. It was established—once again let's get to the bottom of this—it was not the command-administrative system, it was the system and the dictatorship of the party by means of the rayon committees and the oblast committees. They were in charge of, directed, appointed, disposed of, freed, drew up plans and implemented actions and so on and so forth.

[Shakhray] Through the party committees and bureaus.

[Rutskoy] Let's recall how decrees were adopted. There was the CPSU Central Committee and then the Council of Ministers, and all the basic documents until 1975-78 all passed along this very route.

[Shakhray] On the eve of any session of the Supreme Soviet there had to be a session of the Politburo. All issues were resolved in the Central Committee, all political issues were resolved, and only after this were deputies allowed access in order to draw up in a judicial fashion the resolution which had been reached. What is that?

[Torchinskiy] And then came the applause.

[Rutskoy] Yes, you understand, there was something which resembled a puppet theater.

[Shakhray] It is a betrayal of the state, a substitution of people's power for a single political structure. I think that there is no case here of not thinking things through. I think there are no mistakes here. I think that there is no undue haste or hurry. The point is a conscious policy, and the most important thing in the party structure, the

most important thing in the dictatorship of one political structure has been affected, that is to say its primary cell in the labor collective, the organization, and the institution. It is for this very reason that there has been such a reaction. It is because of this there has been a call to what is bordering on civil war, to rise up in defense. In doing this no explanation is being given to the population about what they are defending—what authority in particular?

[Rutskoy] Whose authority?

[Shakhray] Whose authority is being defended and in whose interests? This is the spring of mechanism. Here we also have if not a philosophical, then the administrative aspect: the state, the enterprise, the oblast administration has always been implemented through these structures. Now these structures have occupied positions....

[Rutskoy] The oblast party committee bureau has always approved all these posts, a director of a factory could not be appointed without its approval.

[Shakhray] Meanwhile these structures, having lost their power, have ceased to work in some places, or hid in the shadows, waiting. Or something else. But on the whole, they were adopting a position opposed to what the people of Russia have chosen by electing the president, electing the parliament, choosing the course of democratization. The party cannot claim to be a leading party while remaining in opposition to its own people.

[Torchinskiy] And to its own government.

[Shakhray] And to its government. Therefore the president, if he does not want to be a naked emperor, and if parliament does not want to be just a rubber stamp, they should be dealing with this. They should wonder why their laws just hang in the air, what administrative structures should be created so that they worked. And the president has started dealing with this in one of his first decrees.

[Torchinskiy] And then, I say that we have an impression that these people are so naive as to think that we have forgotten everything. For example, I know the problems of agriculture a little—here, similarly, the fate of thousands of those same chairmen of the collective farms was decided by one glance of a rayon party committee secretary. The unwelcome ones were immediately removed. The same was true in industry, everywhere. And the main thing, it is precisely for this reason CPSU has declined, because of this. It is a rotten monopoly.

[Rutskoy] You know, it has always acted on behalf of the people and with the will of the people, and in actual fact there was no such concern about people as there should have been. All the time it was the people, the people. And look in what state our people are now! At least they have started to straighten their backs now, on social issues for example. Because when only a year ago I took the post of chairman of the Supreme Soviet Committee on Social

Issues, you know, if I still remained a serviceman, I could not even imagine that in our civilian society there could be such unconstitutional attitudes to the individual. Now they shout on all corners: social protection for the RCP, the main thing is social protection.

What social protection? Who is to be protected from whom? The state from an individual or the individual from the state? We should probably be talking about social guarantees, in other words the state should guarantee to the individual that he is treated as a person, whatever happens to him. And you know, everywhere there is always some sort of a barrier created against all these tendencies, this precise movement toward democratization of society.

You see how the votes are distributed at the congress. One would have thought that it is precisely the interests of the people that are being defended and the opportunity is given for the legislative acts to enable a man to become a person. Then a button is pressed against. Furthermore, the law on land ownership has been already adopted, and here in the same appeal they talk about the land being confiscated. Who is confiscating? At last we have given land to the Russian man. Whoever you are—a worker, an official—please come and get it. And whatever is being done, everything was somehow against the people.

Let us recall the history of 1937. Is this not similar to the calls by some persons from the VKPB [All-Union Party of Bolsheviks] planning the future reprisals against the democratic views and democratic movements?

You understand, when I compare these things, especially the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA mass appeal in this regard, I do not know how its editor-in-chief can now appear on the streets after publishing such articles. One looks at all this and thinks: Here are Bondarev, Blokhin, Varennikov, Volodin, Gromov, Zukanov, Zykina, Klykov, Prokhanov, Rasputin, Starodubtsev. Don't they know how the ordinary peasant in a village is living? In what penal conditions he exists? In what conditions people in the north live? Look at the people of the north, what state have we brought them to! Everything is being taken from there and absolutely nothing brought in. Whole nations are in decline, ethnic conflicts flare up. And so on. There is such a lot to do! We should evaluate all this, analyze it, look at it soberly, and join in this work all together. We should not be working as we do. The president is defending positions for democratic transformations, democratic reforms. The majority of the Supreme Soviet does the same. At the congress we get 50-50 and cannot adopt a decision. Look at the party, the RCP. By the way, I had it in my pre-election program to create an RCP. And look at what have we created! Everywhere there is confrontation in relation to all the democratic reforms. Without exception.

[Torchinskiy] I have been at both congresses—the 28th and the Russian one. Well, how can anyone be so one-sided? There was a horrible atmosphere of hysteria.

[Rutskoy] And who they are preparing a plenum for 6 August. You shall see—it will be all hysterics, too.

[Torchinskiy] But these documents have not appeared accidentally. The news conference was held, and then this appeal. The CPSU Central Committee plenum will be held tomorrow, tomorrow they will launch an attack on the president of the Union.

[Rutskoy] Look at Gennadiy Zuganov. He is a secretary of the RCP Central Committee. Here, too, we see: RCP Central Committee news conference.

[Rutskoy] He approached me only recently. He said we have to talk it through, to weigh it and check, well, Aleksandr Vladimirovich, whether you are mistaken trying to set up the Democratic Party of Russian Communists. I told him, I am not mistaken. One cannot make any more mistakes, you understand. If I were not right, communists would not have backed me. And this is the core of the matter.

[Shakhray] I would like to attract your attention to the following. I think that we are going to be repaid by the vice president, because by staying in the ranks of the CPSU or ...but nevertheless, not the RCP, we are carrying out this policy. I would like to say that I am not leaving the party because I think that it has its last chance to preserve its influence, to go through purification and repentance, and to head this process. We Communists do not want to have the monopoly or dictatorship of one party in the industrial field and the field of management. We have all the grounds to set up those structures according to the territorial principle, and to head them. I think that the CPSU itself should give up its property, the acquisition of which was not legally substantiated, and return it to the population. And if this process is led by democratic forces in the CPSU and if they manage to implement it, then the people's confidence in the Communist Party will be restored. In all other cases, if this does not happen, look what is happening in localities. Leaders of the RCP: go outside and have a look.

[Rutskoy] I will tell you. We are in for a situation similar to that which developed in Eastern Europe.

[Shakhray] Yes, in Eastern Europe. Maybe it will take more tragic and frightening forms. Taking the account of our....

[Rutskoy] Yes, they saw it. They appeal to people. Now the aim pursued by the RSFSR Government—I do not know why Union structures do not react to appeals of this kind. I do not know why they do not react.

I will tell you that this is a very serious document and the fact of the matter is, you understand, that it is already not just simply some sort of appeal from those who share the same views, it is a serious call to disobedience and it is an insult to the USSR president, and it is an insult to

the president of the Russian Federation and to the legitimately elected bodies of authority. It is an insult in every sense of the word.

[Torchinskiy] It seems to me that to a large extent it is an insult to the USSR president.

[Rutskoy] Yes, to a large extent.

[Torchinskiy] They have cast doubts over the great process which the president has started in general, and they have called you to....

[Rutskoy] Of course, and therefore, Sergey Mikhailovich, I think that this decree, this decree really does stabilize the situation in our state. It stabilizes it so that appeals of this nature are not allowed, and even more so, does not allow them in state structures, especially not in the carrying out of official duties as is the case with Gromov. We have already said that the first deputy minister of internal affairs, Varennikov, the first deputy minister of defense....

[Torchinskiy] Yes, these are not private individuals.

[Rutskoy] Yes, they are not private individuals. This is not a joke. What sort of appeal is this? And this decree really does allow people during their free time to please, discuss, and adopt resolutions. To apply to state structures.

[Torchinskiy] So you can carry out normal political activities—forgive me,—so if you work at a factory....

[Shakhray] I think that the time to choose has now come both for the leadership of the RCP and for the Union president. If, for example, the Union president leans for support upon the communists fighting for the democratization both of society as a whole, and of the CPSU, and if he will keep to this course, then he has a chance to increase his authority and preserve his authority. If he will use this appeal to the people as his point of reference, and will rely upon the old political structures, then the situation will be destabilized. This moment of choice must be used.

[Torchinskiy] Thank you very much. We will hope for the best. Thank you for coming to participate in our work. Goodbye, comrades and all the best.

Leningrad Bureau Condemns Decree

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0930 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Leningrad CPSU regional bureau condemned the Russian President Decree on departyization of the State institutions and organizations. The Declaration says that the Presidential Decree "violates the Constitutions both of the USSR and Russia and the International Pacts for human rights. In fact the State Power represented by the Russian President takes the Supreme Right to dictate the

political freedoms' terms, which deprive the people of their legitimate right for those freedoms."

Leningrad CPSU regional Bureau calls its supporters to appeal to the Soviet President, to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and to the Soviet Constitutional Inspection Committee requiring for protection of the Soviet Constitution.

Amur Russian Communist Party regional Committee, the City and District Party Committee Secretaries Council and the delegates of the 28th CPSU Congress from the regional party organization also condemned the Russian President Boris Yeltsin's Decree on departyization.

"The Political Bureau, the Secretariat and the CPSU Central Committee playing pluralism inside the Party frankly impose anticommunism for breaking the Party from inside", the regional communists declared. They require for convening Extraordinary Congresses of the CPSU and of the Russian Communist Party and for renewal of the senior party leaders.

Trade Unions Reassured

LD2407162791 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1350 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Text] There was a meeting in the white house on Krasnopresnenskaya Embankment today between Shakray, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] state councillor for legal policy, and Romanov, deputy chairman of Russia's Federation of Independent Trade Unions. They examined matters concerning implementation of the RSFSR president's decree on discontinuing the activity of the organizational structures of political parties and mass public movements in state organs, in the section which concerns the functioning of trade unions. First and foremost it was clarified that a trade union is not at all a mass public movement; it is an association, or an organization, and its work does not, therefore, fall in any way under the prohibition contained in the decree. In the course of the meeting Sergey Shakh-ray stressed on several occasions that the president by his decree is in no way placing the activity of Russian trade unions in doubt.

Bashkiria Carries Out Decree

OW2507090991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1500 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the URALINFORM NEWS AGENCY, after the Russian president Boris Yeltsin issued his decree on the closure of party and trade union cells in offices and industries the Bashkir press has published a letter from the Bashkir Health Minister Turyanov urging the leaders of the CPSU organization in Bashkiria to surrender all buildings occupied by party bodies for medical needs.

Parties Support Decree

LD2407200191 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 24 Jul 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Representatives of various parties and movements have defined their attitude to the Russian president's decree on parties. Travkin's aide, from the Democratic Party of Russia, said that his party fully supports the decree. The editorial board of GRAZHDANSKOYE DOSTOINSTVO [civic dignity], the newspaper of the Constitutional Democrats [CD], noted that Yeltsin's decision is fully within CD traditions. If a CD leader won elections, he would act similarly. (Bugayev), a leader of the left-of-center bloc of political parties, completely supported the presidential decree.

Differing Opinions Cited

LD2407180491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Text] The theme which has already been discussed for several days now is still in the center of public attention. I mean the Russian president's decree, which is being called the decree on departyization for short. As they report from Leningrad, the politburo of the CPSU oblast committee published a declaration today in which it speaks against the document and notes its contradictions with the country's law on public organizations. At the same time, the Democratic Party of Russia has declared that it supports the decree and will encourage its branches to leave the state bodies, offices, and organizations. Chairman of the Democratic Party of Russia Travkin has said the decree brings the start-up terms for all the parties to the same level.

Impact on CPSU Criticized

PM2407133991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jul 91 First Edition p 2

["Our Commentary" on RSFSR Presidential Decree 'On Terminating the Activity of the Organizational Structures of Political Parties and Mass Social Movements in State Organs and Institutions of the RSFSR'"]

[Text] The proclaimed aim of the decree is to guarantee the equality of rights of parties and movements in elaborating state policy and managing state affairs and preventing the interference of public associations in the activity of state organs and the influence of the inter-party struggle on the functioning of the state apparatus as laid down in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Constitution.

Indeed, it is impossible to make progress toward a rule-of-law state without the regulation of mutual relations between state organs and the structures of political parties and social movements. Therefore, one can only welcome the desire to clarify those mutual relations,

which were utterly confused during the period when the administrative edict system prevailed in our country.

But can that aim be achieved by means of prohibitions? After all, just as political parties have no right to intervene directly in the activity of state organs in a rule-of-law state, so the organs of power should not infringe the rights of social and political organizations there either. Otherwise, citizens' political freedoms are clearly restricted and that cannot be in accordance with the course toward democratizing society.

And, of course, one cannot fail to notice whose activity such a proscriptive approach "regulates" first and foremost—those parties and movements formed not only on the territorial principle but also on the production principle. This also applies to organizations of the Communist Party which, by all accounts, is the intention. So why then pretend that no one's political rights are being infringed in this process? Nor is it clear whether the organizational structures of veterans' and women's movements, the Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy, the Red Cross, and so forth fall under the decree's scope? Who will decide that and how?

Ultimately, however, the details can be worked out. But the main questions remain unanswered: Will all this help to stabilize the sociopolitical atmosphere in the republic? Will it not tend to aggravate it and to increase confrontation? The atmosphere is already highly charged as it is. People do not want the fueling of political passions, they want changes for the better which, although small at the moment are, nonetheless, perceptible.

Yeltsin Warns Party To Stop 'Hampering Reforms'

OW2507024691 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1230 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin has refuted protests by the leaders of Russia's Communist party against the decree on departyization of state bodies, institutions and organizations as a breach of the Constitution. "The decree has been prepared with legal advice and it does not contradict the Constitution," countered Yeltsin. "It's time you stopped hampering our reforms. Those in the way should go."

Yeltsin described the letter against the decree published in the newspaper "SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA" by some public figures including General Boris Gromov, writers Yuriy Bondarev and Valentin Rasputin as "not useful for society or current reforms." He referred to it as "Yaroslavna's lament"—(quoting the epic poem in which the lady laments for the past glory).

Russia's President pointed out that some expressions in that statement could be taken as calling for toppling the Federation's lawful government, but said he would refrain from any steps to persecute the sedition.

The decree specifies no date for removing party chapters in state organisations. Party functionaries made redundant would be given new jobs, he assured.

Boris Yeltsin said the decree has changed nothing in his relations with Gorbachev. "No confrontation between us," he commented.

Gorbachev-Yeltsin Ties Called 'Rather Amicable'

LD2407210191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network
in Russian 1900 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Text] Signing the departyization decree did not affect relations between Presidents Boris Yeltsin and Mikhail Gorbachev, Pavel Voshchanov, chief of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic president press service, told a Russian Information Agency correspondent. The relations remain constructive and are rather amicable, with the tete-a-tete meeting during an interval between working meetings in Novo-Ogarevo on 23 July testifying to this. At the same time, Pavel Voshchanov refused to comment on Mikhail Gorbachev's attitude to the decree and suggested that this be addressed to Gorbachev's press secretary. The day before, Vitaliy Ignatenko, chief of the USSR president press service, said that, in a situation where movement toward concord is gathering strength in our country, the fact that this decree introduces elements of tension and confrontation gives rise to concern.

Yeltsin Appoints Ilyushin To Head Secretariat

PM2407154591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 23 Jul 91 p 1

[From URALINFORM, URAL-AKTSEPT, INTERFAX, IMA-PRESS, TASS, D-R-PRESS, RIA, ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA column]

[Text] Viktor Vasilyevich Ilyushin has been appointed leader of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] president's Secretariat by decree of the RSFSR president.

Yeltsin, Greece's Mitsotakis on Cooperation

OW2507060091 Moscow INTERFAX in English
0930 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian President Boris Yeltsin and the Greek Prime-Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis were pleased by their negotiations in Kremlin on Wednesday.

The agreement on the meeting of the Russian and Greek Foreign Ministers for preparing an official visit of Yeltsin to Athens was achieved.

Mr. Mitsotakis invited Mr. Yeltsin to visit Athens til the end of the year for signing agreement between Greece and Russia. The agreement will mainly cover economic cooperation.

After the talks Mr. Mitsotakis said to journalists that Greece intends to cooperate with the USSR on two levels: the federal level within the framework of which he had talks with the Soviet President Gorbachev and the level of cooperation with the republics. According to Mr. Mitsotakis, the relations with Russia are the most important for Greece on this level.

The prime-minister was pleased by the sincere cooperation between Yeltsin and Gorbachev.

Rutskoy Interviewed on Republic Tasks

LD2407102991

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1545 GMT on 23 July carries the "Russian Parliamentary Herald" program, which consists of an 18-minute studio interview with Aleksandr Vladimirovich Rutskoy, vice president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR), by Sergey Nosovets, RSFSR people's deputy.

Nosovets opens the program by saying that Russia's leaders now face a busy time, despite the fact that things have eased to some extent in the RSFSR parliament and its committees and commissions. He asks Rutskoy about the first steps of Russia's president and vice president.

Times are indeed very complicated, Rutskoy says; the parliament is dispersing for the holidays, but the president and his deputy are faced with an enormous amount of work. He says that whenever you get down to dealing with practical issues involving the law you are faced with a mass of problems arising from the need to avoid conflict with the Constitution and other laws and also from the unfinished nature of our laws.

Rutskoy states: "As far as the decree of the president of the Russian Federation is concerned, ending the activity of the organizational structures of political parties and mass public movements in state bodies, establishments and organizations of RSFSR—I even have to read it so as not to confuse the name—I have to tell you that this is a very democratic decree. This decree gives all public and political movements and parties the possibility of being under equal conditions. But the absence of any influence on state structures by sociopolitical movements and parties is determined in accordance with this decree. That is the decree.

"It is essential today. Why? Because once again certain clashes arise at the level of the rayon, oblast, and kray. Why? Because the party structures still retain influence on the executive bodies of power, too. Why? Because even today the combination of offices in the hands of one holder still takes place—both of chairmen of soviets and of party secretaries at various levels—which exerts an influence upon society, and the democratic reforms, as it were, go into a wheel-spin. Instead of moving forward along the road of democratic reforms and transformations of our society and instead of solving social, political, and economic problems, we engage in the

politicization of our society. This decree, which comes into force in 14 days, ends the politicization of society and directs all state structures to solving the problems of the people.

"Now I am engaged with a group of specialists in working out the president's next decree on the protection of the republic's economic sovereignty, because without this decree it is not going to be possible to implement the democratic reforms and the decisions of the Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies, because—you must excuse me—no matter how great Russia used to be, no more than 15 percent of the property belongs to it. How is it possible to put into effect congress decisions and Supreme Soviet decisions and protect the interests of our people if you don't have the property in your own hands? This decree is therefore now being prepared here.

"I consider this to be the number one decree. That's my own feeling about it, although the number one decree is the decree education and the second decree, I consider, the number two, is the decree on the protection of the economic sovereignty of the Russian Federation. Accordingly all the other decrees—or rather these two decrees, the first and second decrees—are going to be the basis upon which we are going to move forward in fulfilling the decisions of the congress and the Supreme Soviet."

Nosovets asks: "Aleksandr Vladimirovich, you have just mentioned the decree on the defense of Russia's economic sovereignty which is in preparation. All our voters, not just those of Russia but those in the country, have followed with interest the way in which you and Boris Nikolayevich assumed your duties. There was obviously an amicable attitude on the part of those representing central authority, the president of the Soviet Union. But how are your relations developing with the central authority in implementing these congress decisions now that the festivities are over and the working days have arrived?"

Rutskoy replies: "You know one can say now what the reaction will be to this decree. I know what will be the reaction to this decree on the part of, say, the Russian Communist Party. As far as the other state structures of the Soviet Union are concerned, it hasn't been published yet, and accordingly I believe that it will be toward the end of the week that it will be possible to say something definite about the reaction to this decree.

"Regarding the second decree—I mean the main one regarding its importance in the sense of protecting the republic's economic sovereignty; there's the first, there's the second, we also have the education decree—I tell you a rowdy situation is not even ruled out there. Why? Because what's under consideration there are problems in deciding the ownership of defense complexes and accordingly military industrial complexes and in deciding questions concerning the republic's raw material and energy resources. Therefore there is going to be a definite row here, I tell you. Why? Because we intend,

in accordance with the agreement achieved in the Novo-Ogarevo talks, to establish a republican customs service. Why? Because what is now taking place on the border in the area of market relations and the development of market relations with other states with contiguous borders, once again, quite simply, brakes are being applied to everything, you understand. There is a mass of documents and decrees now and decisions of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers, and they contradict economic relations and market relations. This decree on the protection of economic interests will therefore defend positions which have been taken, I stress, not by the president but which have been adopted by the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet. In other words, the president implements the will of the congress and the will of the Supreme Soviet respectively as far as protecting the republic's economic sovereignty is concerned. I do not rule out the possibility that there will be some elements of a row here."

Rutskoy says that it is difficult to give things up, especially when you have had something and hold no regard for the people where the property is situated. Nosovets says that similar decisions have been adopted by Russia's neighbors, the Ukraine and Kazakhstan, for example.

Rutskoy responds: "Of course the Cabinet of Ministers has its own attitude, especially the USSR Cabinet of Ministers, toward the Union republics which adopt such decrees, a gentle and veiled attitude. As far as Russia is concerned it will be given a hostile reception. Why? Because I say once again the fact is that in those republics somehow or other they did have their own property, somewhere up to 60 percent, 50 percent, whereas we are the republic that owned just 15 percent of the property. I simply cannot imagine how you can solve the problems of the people if you do not have and possess this property. Then this is the property of the people, the property of the people. If you compare, say, the decree.... [changes thought] It's now the draft of this decree, Boris Nikolayevich returns today and he will be told the position on the draft in precise terms today. I presented this draft to him on Saturday [20 July], and I think that this decree will appear in the next few days."

Rutskoy outlines how decrees are implemented in the RSFSR. A mechanism for implementing a decree is worked out point by point. He continues: "Incidentally, we met on Saturday and held an extended conference with representatives of the KGB, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and its structures and investigations directorate, the department for combatting the theft of socialist property, representatives of the retail trade, and representatives of transport. Our meeting for this conference was not fortuitous. You know what is happening at the goods stations near Leningrad now and in Moscow. Masses of freight cars laden with food are building up, perishable food, everything is going off and being spoiled, the freight cars are not being unloaded. Some people, you know, accuse me of being tough, but I consider that today especially you should call a spade a

spade. It's nothing short of sabotage. Why? Because, forgive me, the claim that there is no unloading equipment, that there are not enough dockers, that freight cars are standing idle as a result of the refusal of trade structures to accept them, is simply—how can I put it?—a way of blaming the matter on someone else.

"Here is what I think. If there is no loading and unloading equipment, then invite the relevant enterprises, works and army collectives to come and remove the goods themselves. I tell you this. I have made the following proposal. Let us settle it like this, say: Those who participate directly in unloading food and delivering them to shop shelves have the right to take 20 percent and sell it through their own trade networks. I tell you, they will rush up to unload the goods in a flash. Why? Because there are not enough food products on the shop shelves, people are indignant, and freight cars are piling up. There are 462 freight cars outside Leningrad and slightly fewer outside Moscow, proportionately. They contain meat, fruit, and vegetables—everything which, accordingly, a person needs to live.

"So, we held that conference, and I set each one, according to his sphere, a time limit of one week to draw up a draft decree. We will systematize it all on Saturday [27 July] and present it all in the form of a mathematical formula, because we need to define clearly our actions and our areas of work, in order to exclude similar occurrences.

"Next, the harvest is already imminent. Transport will be wrecked again, we will again have insufficient fuel supplies and, as in 1990, there will be no one to take the ultimate responsibility. I am not a supporter of taking some kind of extreme measures in particular places, but I am a supporter of the view that there are officials, and there are duties, and the official receives a salary for those duties, and there is the law, accordingly."

Nosovets comments: "And there is the Constitution, under which execution of the president's decision is compulsory throughout Russia's territory."

Rutskoy says: "For that reason I believe that gathering in the harvest, providing our working people with agricultural produce and preparing for winter are also an important problem here. Therefore, there will also be a presidential decree sometime in the immediate future concerning these very points. Why? Because we have to introduce order in society."

Nosovets adds: "One can also count among those measures Ivan Stepanovich Silayev's order canceling Pavlov's customs duties."

Rutskoy remarks: "That applies more to the decree on economic sovereignty, on protection of the republic's economic sovereignty. Why? Because again common sense probably suggests to you that you have to open the borders and let everything be imported, everything that there is, food and consumer goods. Let people sell and buy. We have to open a market, whereas our Union

Government and Prime Minister Pavlov, accordingly, are erecting barriers by any means possible, you see, although Boyarov, chief of the customs directorate, has already been relieved of the post which he used to occupy because of that incomprehensible initiative. This is because, in any action by any leader of any rank, he has to be guided by common sense, first and foremost. What does that produce? If you open the border and allow imports—I am thinking in terms of opening the border for the import of goods—let them come in, because if you take a look at economically highly developed states, they already have a surfeit. You see, so many products have accumulated that they do not know where to sell them. Let them give them away to people, because it is simply essential, you see."

Rutskoy gestures to an aide off screen, asking him to bring a copy of the draft decree on the protection of economic sovereignty. He says that it will be interesting to voters to go through the main points, even though it is not yet in its finished form.

Rutskoy continues: "Here is what it deals with. Point one, again in accordance with RSFSR legislation, to take into our jurisdiction enterprises and organizations currently subordinate to the Union, with the exception of those whose activity guarantees functions transferred to Union administrative bodies, and, accordingly, to transfer everything else to our jurisdiction, and, besides this, to draw up and present proposals on the further use of the capacity of enterprises in the defense industries, again in the interests of raising the people's living standard."

Rutskoy reminds Nosovets that the document before them is only a draft, then goes on to the next point: "To carry out by 1 June 1992, in accordance with RSFSR legislation, reregistration of all entities involved in economic management, regardless of their form of ownership, and at the same time to determine the legality of their use, possession, and disposal of property and financial resources.

"Let us take the first thing. First, the Communist Party's funds are today being whittled away in every manner possible and going into property which does not belong to it, money is being hidden accordingly, and concerns and joint enterprises are being set up. I think we have to work out an appropriate position on this subject. You see, it is somehow offensive to ordinary voters—I mean workers and kolkhozniks—and offensive to a greater degree, because there are more energetic people who have already organized some kind of market structures, and so on and so forth. We have to work out our position on that too, I believe, there is nothing terrible about it, for God's sake, if it is really honest, if the property belongs to them, if they hold and use the property and financial resources honestly. But, accordingly, if it has been obtained by some dishonest means, then forgive me, but they will have to pay for it. They will have to pay for it at first. No one is planning to take it away. They will have to pay for the property that has been taken, and

accordingly, that difference, that money, will be spent on social programs for the working people. It does not mean any braking of market relations. We have to define our position here."

Rutskoy continues: "Then there's the tax inspectorate, and hence the submission of proposals about the procedures for registering and issuing certificates of the right to carry out entrepreneurial activity. Why? Because some people in our country take entrepreneurship as meaning profiteering. When some joint enterprise or other or simply some small enterprise produces output and sells it on the market, that's one thing and that's understandable. But when, say, vodka or cognac are produced by the state structures and when people who call themselves entrepreneurs resell this vodka, or cognac, or footwear of some kind, or clothing at three times the price and call this entrepreneurship, then here I disagree—it's blatant profiteering pure and simple. There's a mass of interesting areas here. Here, for example, it says that by 1 October the Council of Ministers will ensure the setting up of a system of Union-republican customs bodies of the RSFSR. Decisions of the Union bodies affecting procedures for importing and exporting goods and also the fixing of customs duties which have been adopted without coordination with the authorized bodies of the RSFSR are invalid on the territory of the RSFSR. Why? Because, you must excuse me but decisions are being made and decrees and instructions are being issued without any coordination with the Government of the Russian Federation. There is an enormous number of such areas here. To continue: the formation of the gold reserves and the diamond and currency reserves and determining the proportion that is liable to be directed to ensure repayment of the USSR's external debt. Let's determine who owes and how much."

Nosovets says that to sum up what is now being implemented is the will of the congress and the Supreme Soviet. Rutskoy agrees and says: "Yes, I mentioned this at the very beginning. President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin is operating in this situation only in terms of implementing the decisions of the resolutions of both the congress and the Supreme Soviet. Why? You have worked out—that is to say, we have worked out I'm looking at the badge you're wearing, and with envy, too, because according to our law we are not deputies any more, we are the executive power—nevertheless we have worked out the legislative basis together and now it has to be implemented."

Leadership Attacked at Moscow Party Plenum

LD180716069; Moscow All-union Radio Mayak
 Network in Russian 1000 GMT 18 Jul 91

[Text] Those taking part in the joint plenum of Moscow City Party Committee and the CPSU Central Control Commission came out in favor of calling in October-November this year congresses of the CPSU and the

Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Communist Party, which should result in the re-registration of members of the party.

During the plenum there were numerous attacks on the top leadership of the party. In connection with this the idea was expressed that the CPSU leadership needs to be renewed. The question of calling Aleksandr Yakovlev to account was also raised. However, this was turned down because, in the view of the Central Control Commission, Yakovlev has not violated CPSU rules. This has been reported by the Russian Information Agency.

Prosecutors Discuss Anticrisis Program

PM2407154991 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 23 Jul 91 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Law-Abiding Citizens, Please Help the Legislators"]

[Text] A routine enlarged session of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Prosecutor's Office has been held. Prosecutors from republic regions and RSFSR people's deputies were invited to the building at 13, Kuznetskiy Most Street. Nikolay Trubin, the country's prosecutor general, took part in the conference.

The agenda was as follows: "On the Tasks of Supervision by the Prosecutor's Office To Strengthen Legality During the Implementation of the Anticrisis Program." There were no verbose reports—it was exclusively a question of "applied" problems which are very familiar to every oblast and kray prosecutor who attended this collegium in the capital.

Russian Prosecutor General Valentin Stepankov particularly emphasized that today supervision by the prosecutor's office should lean quite definitely in one direction—the implementation of the anticrisis program is impossible without help and monitoring (in short, legal backup) regarding the law-making activity of the new organs of people's power.

Abolition of Personal Pensions Deployed

PM2407153191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
22 Jul 91 Second Edition p 2

[Vladimir Rudnev report: "Punished for Their... Patriotism"]

[Excerpts] Moscow—At various stages of the country's development there have been pension privileges for citizens who have rendered particular service to the motherland. But now for some reason decisions are being made to strip them of their rights to privileges as of 1992 and, in general, to abolish personal pensions, which had previously been paid for life. The RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers abolished almost all privileges for personal pensioners in its Resolution No. 334 of 18 June 1991.

It is odd, very odd.... After this can we really believe in the Russian state's laws, when even lifetime personal pensions for deserving people are abolished?

And we are talking about a deserving group of personal pensioners who devoted their strength, knowledge, and experience to the motherland and who even risked their lives during the difficult war years. [passage omitted]

We have decided to save money on these people. Why have these true patriots of the fatherland been punished? For their patriotism? Incidentally, the number of personal pensioners gets smaller with every passing year—in the RSFSR they represent less than 1 percent of all pensioners.

Ukraine

Government Suspends Eight Union Laws

LD2507095191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 0900 GMT 25 Jul 91

[Text] The Ukraine, for the duration of the program of emergency measures to stabilize the republic's economy and extricate it from the crisis, has decided to suspend implementation of eight all-Union laws and government resolutions. These are mainly acts concerning taxation, customs duty, hard currency funds, and certain measures on shaping up market relations. Simultaneously certain decrees and laws of the Ukrainian republic have also been suspended.

Kiev Officers Congress To Discuss National Army

OW2507020091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1800 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A congress of Ukrainian army officers is to be held in Kiev on Saturday and Sunday. One of the main items on the agenda is the formation of a Ukrainian national army.

In an interview with IF [INTERFAX] one of the organizers of the congress, a member of the Ukrainian parliament Vladimir Krizhanovskiy said: "Throughout the world the army is considered one of the main attributes of sovereignty. At the first stage we plan to set up a small contingent of troops. Over one million soldiers and officers are stationed in Ukraine today. We do not need that much. The Ukrainian army should have approximately 250,000 servicemen. We think that at the first stage strategic forces should be kept. They would be subordinate to the command of an alliance of former Union republics."

Congress Agenda Published

LD2407195891 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 2100 GMT 23 Jul 91

[Text] As we have already reported, the council of the Rukh boards came out as an organizer of the congress of Ukraine's officers, due to be held 27-28 July in Kiev. Today, the agenda of the congress was published in the press. It includes discussion of the political situation in the Ukraine, issues of reviving the Ukrainian national army, state, and legal aspects, an issue of social protection of servicemen, setting up of the Ukraine's officers' committee. [sentence as heard] It is a very interesting fact that issues of the revival of the officers' corps of Ukraine will be discussed by the civilian representatives of the democratic parties. As far as the military men are concerned, they will be invited for the congress as guests, (?although) who sympathize with the idea of Ukrainian army.

Ukraine's Plyushch Returns From Treaty Meeting

LD2507084391 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 2100 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Text] Today a first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine, Ivan Plyushch, returned to Kiev. He took part in the sitting of the committee on the preparation of a new Union treaty.

In an interview for Radio Kiev, Ivan Plyushch underlined that certain representatives of the republics accused Ukraine of striving to frustrate the signing of the Union treaty. As is known, the Ukraine parliament has given the draft of this project for expertise on its compliance with the declaration of state sovereignty. [sentence as heard]

Ivan Plyushch said that Ukraine will create a union gradually. There is no need to be hasty in this issue. The participants in the meeting confirmed that the subjects of the treaty are sovereign states. Ukraine comes out for the restriction of the powers of the center for the benefit of the republics.

Ivan Plyushch confirmed the Ukraine's position on disagreement with the draft provision on a two channel system of taxation, that is the right to such taxation both of the Union and the republican governments. We come out for transferring taxation exclusively to the competence of the republics.

On the whole, said Ivan Plyushch, work on the draft treaty has been completed.

Kiev Parliamentarians' Trial Criticized

OW2407072191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1800 GMT 23 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In Kiev, at the trial of the Khmara-Grigorev incident, which took place on November 7 last year during the annual revolution day celebrations, the questioning of witnesses has finally begun. On Tuesday it was members of the militia who mainly appeared.

As INTERFAX was told by one of the defendants, Vitaliy Vorobyov, the evidence of the witnesses contains many contradictions as well as unconfirmed facts.

The court chamber, once again, was half empty. It is still being boycotted by the defendants Stepan Khmara (a Ukrainian people's deputy), Leonid Berezanskiy, Oleg Batovkin, Nikolai Golovach and Nikolai Ratushnyi.

Deputies of the Kiev city soviet of people's deputies informed those present of the announcement of the democratic bloc of the city soviet (which makes up about a half of all the deputies). The announcement says that the case against Mr. Khmara "is of a blatantly political character," and that the accusations are "fabricated, biased and unfounded." The bloc insist that the case be dropped forthwith, that the accused be released from

custody and that the assumed victim, General Igor Grigorev of the militia, be brought to justice. Otherwise the democratic bloc of the Kiev city soviet could "call on voters to take part in decisive forms of protest against the judicial farce organised by communist authoritarian forces."

An announcement concerning the Kharma case has also been made by the Rukh independent movement. The announcement describes the recent operation to seize Mr Khmara in his hotel room as an attempt to destabilise the situation in the Ukraine. The responsibility is put at the door of the central authorities.

The announcement goes on: "The Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine has postponed the discussion of a new union treaty until the autumn. The reason for the constant disruption of the normal legal process against Khrama is the fact that the Ukraine has refused to follow Mr Gorbachev's request for it to sign the union treaty and thus condemn itself to a longer period in the Soviet Union." The Rukh political council demanded the immediate release of Stepan Khmara together with all other political prisoners in the Ukraine.

Central Committee Supports Party Press

LD2307110791 Kiev Radio Kiev Network
in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 22 Jul 91

[Text] The Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat has adopted a decision on organizational and political work of party committees in the Ukraine concerning subscriptions to papers and magazines of the CPSU and the Ukraine Communist Party.

All party committees, primary organizations, and editorial boards have been instructed to revive the traditions of broad and militant propaganda of the party press as a reliable defender of the interests of working people and as a promoter of the truth in a real multiparty system with pluralism of thoughts.

The Central Committee Secretariat approves the creation of funds for supporting party publications and the partial use of membership fees for this purpose.

Democratic Congress Convened in Kiev

OW2207065391 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1830 GMT 19 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The consultative council of the Democratic Congress (including 42 parties and movements from 13 republics except Georgia and Moldova) has convened in Kiev today, Friday, for an early session to work out a common approach towards the initiative aimed at setting up a Democratic Reforms Movement and a United Democratic Party.

The session has declared that a centralized democratic movement for the entire USSR is unfeasible in principle. Support has been expressed for a commonwealth of sovereign states. An acceptable form of organizing democratic forces is seen in a confederative coalition of the republics' political parties and democratic movements. To achieve that a round table has been suggested with the participation of the Democratic Congress' consultative council.

Referendum To Decide Future Name of Crimea

LD2407154691 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 2100 GMT
23 Jul 91

[Text] The concept of the constitution of the Crimea has been adopted at the session of the Supreme Soviet of this autonomous Republic. There were heated debates about the proposed name of the state reestablished on the peninsula—the Republic of the Crimea or the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. It is up to the residents of the Crimea to voice their will on this issue in a referendum. The deputies spoke out unanimously against a presidential form of government in the Crimea.

Georgia

Gamsakhurdia's Letter to Mutalibov Disclosed

NC2507080391 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri
1700 GMT 22 Jul 91

[Letter from Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Georgian republic, to President Ayaz Mutalibov]

[Text] Esteemed Ayaz Niyazoglu Mutalibov, I wish to thank you for your sincere letter and for inviting me to visit Azerbaijan. I will comply with your invitation in the near future. I wish to assure you that the people of Georgia, as in the case of the people of Azerbaijan, have welcomed the signing of the agreement for friendship and good-neighborly relations with the hope that it will strengthen the traditional and fraternal relations between our republics and consolidate the political atmosphere in our region as a whole.

I take this opportunity to wish happiness, [word indistinct], and progress for the people of Azerbaijan.

[Signed] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Georgian republic.

Armenia

Supreme Soviet Presidium Examines Defense Issues

NC2407121591 Yerevan ARMENPRES International
Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 23 Jul 91

[Statement issued by the press center of the Armenian Supreme Soviet; date not given]

[Text] The Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium met on 20 July chaired by Supreme Soviet Chairman Levon Ter-Petrosyan.

It examined the draft program on measures required for the defense of the Armenian republic submitted by the Defense Committee attached to the Council of Ministers and by the Supreme Soviet Commission on Defense and Internal Affairs. The Presidium decided to endorse the program and to instruct the Council of Ministers to ensure the implementation of the relevant measures within the timetable set in the draft.

Supreme Soviet Commission on Health and Social Affairs and the Commission on Defense and Internal Affairs were instructed to submit proposals on alternative military service to one of the upcoming Supreme Soviet sessions.

Supreme Soviet Decision on Presidential Post

NC2407124391 Yerevan ARMENPRES International
Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 23 Jul 91

[Text] Yerevan, 23 Jul (ARMENPRES)—At the 22 July session of the Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet, the

deputies put forward many proposals and addenda concerning the bill on the "Election of the President of the Armenian Republic", which was endorsed as the basis for debate at one of the Supreme Soviet sessions last week.

There were many proposals specifically regarding the provision which requires any presidential candidate to have resided at least 10 years in Armenia. The deputies favored the 10-year residency requirement.

At the demand of Chairman Ter-Petrosyan, Chairperson Ara Saakyan, secretary of the Supreme Soviet, put to a vote the question of the future president's birthplace. Despite the fact that the commission preparing the bill had not received any written suggestion on this matter, during the previous sessions demands were made that only those born in Armenia be allowed to seek this lofty post. There were even claims that the bill was formulated with specific candidates in mind.

The parliament rejected this demand. This move appropriately gave one of the substantial sections of our nation—the worthy representatives who by chance were born in various localities of the internal and external diaspora—the opportunity to campaign for the trust of the nation, provided that they gather at least 10 years experience by living alongside the concerns of Armenia.

Different views were expressed on provisions concerning the presidential office term, age limit, the number of signatures required for registering an eligible candidate, and other issues. These provisions were voted upon and retained the form existing in the bill.

But some corrections were made to the bill. In particular, regarding the provision on electing the president, the word "in succession" was introduced to make the provision read: "No one can be elected to the post of president of the Armenian republic for more than two successive terms."

The vote on the bill was: 136 deputies in favor, three opposed, and 13 abstentions.

Attacks in NKAO, Shaumyanovskiy Reported

NC2407121691 Yerevan ARMENPRES International
Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 23 Jul 91

[Text] Yerevan, 23 Jul (ARMENPRES)—Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]: RESPUBLIKA ARMENYI—HAYASTANI HANRAPETUTYUN—Russian-language organ of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, reports that a 33-year-old Armenian was savagely killed between Nngi and Agurti villages in Martuninskiy Rayon. He was burned on a pyre. It is believed the murderers are from the Azerbaijani village of Karadagly.

Kapanskiy: According to a report by HAYASTANI HANRAPETUTYUN correspondent Gagik Davtyan, the Azerbaijani side is continuing to shell Kapanskiy Rayon and its environs with the tacit approval of the Soviet Army. Six men carrying automatic weapons

entered the Uzhanis field from the bordering Azerbaijani villages, the leadership of the Soviet Army witnessed the incident and did not interfere. Two shells fired from a cannon in Zangelanskiy Rayon have exploded in one of the districts of Kapan.

Gorisskiy: The Turkish brigands drove away 1,500 sheep from Khnatsakh village and killed shepherds Gavrusha Simonyan and Misha Gyumushyan.

Yerevan: The Russian television has reported that journalist Vardan Ovannesian, who was detained in Getashen at the beginning of May, has been released from Gandzha prison.

Ashtarakskiy: The rayon population had a meeting with the Armenian republic people's deputies and the local and diaspora representatives of Armenian Pannational Movement and Liberal Democratic Party concerning the national liberation struggle being waged by the Armenian people in NKAO and Shaumyanovskiy Rayon, the political situation existing in the republic, and other matters.

Vardenisskiy: Militia captain Garik Bagdasaryan was killed by the automatic fire opened from the Azerbaijani side.

Yerevan: Armenians injured in Geranboyskiy Rayon—formerly Shaumyanovskiy—have been transported to Armenia.

[Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian at 1630 GMT on 23 July reports that according to the information provided by the press service of the Armenian Interior Ministry, "Erkech village in Shaumyanovskiy Rayon came under continuous artillery fire during the late night and early morning of 20 July. Army subunits were positioned near the Erkech, Buzluk and Manashid villages. Three Army helicopters circled over the Verishen village. Paratroopers were landed between Erkech and Buzluk villages. A fight ensued between the paratroopers and the inhabitants which had previously taken positions in the nearby forest."]

Soviet Army's Role in Attacks Reported

NC2507080491 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Text] Yerevan, 24 Jul (ARMENPRES)—An interview by Tatevik Nalbandyan carried in HAYASTANI HANRAPETUTYUN under the title "There Could Be No Concession" deals with the events taking place in Shaumyanovskiy Rayon. The correspondent notes that the war unleashed in Shaumyanovskiy by Moscow is continuing and that the Soviet Army and Azerbaijani OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] are implementing the "Iron Ring" operation, which is the product of Moscow-Baku cooperation.

To obtain further information, Nalbandyan has asked for the views of Yerdzhanik Abgaryan, a member of the

Armenian Supreme Soviet Commission on Defense and Internal Affairs, who has just returned from Shaumyanovskiy.

Abgaryan said: The Soviet Army has launched an attack using all its might. "MIG-21" fighters have made demonstration flights near Erkech village. The possibility that the Soviet Army servicemen are operating in OMON uniforms cannot be ruled out. There is even evidence that some of these servicemen are mercenaries. In fact, we are dealing not with the Azerbaijanis, who constitute a small part of these forces, but with the Russian Army, be it in the form of the regular Army or a mob. Though it is officially claimed that these operations are undertaken by OMON, the hardware used indicates otherwise. Does the Azerbaijani OMON really have helicopters, "GRAD" system weapons, and an ample amount of armored cars? These are basically weapons for attack.

Next, the article explains in detail that these military operations have been hatched by the "hero" of the Afghanistan war, the infamous General Gromov, who is USSR deputy minister of interior. This is the general who recently had shamelessly put forward his candidacy for the post of vice president of Russia. Of course, he was defeated.

In the article Abgaryan has recounted the grave situation of the Armenians and their desperate attempts to resist.

Ter-Petrosyan Participates in Union Treaty Talks

NC2507061391 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Text] Yerevan, 24 Jul (ARMENPRES)—Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet, participated for the first time yesterday in consultations on the new Union treaty among leaders of a number of republics in the Moscow suburb of Novo-Ogarevo.

According to a report by the all-Union radio, the presence of the Armenian leader has impressed the conferees, including the country's president, Mikhail Gorbachev, who assessed this meeting as differing considerably from previous ones because of its high-level discussions on current issues, productivity and mutual understanding.

Azerbaijan

Azerbaijan President's Response on NKAO

PM2407120191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jul 91 Second Edition p 2

[By Z. Kadymbekov: "Ray of Hope Appears"]

[Text] Baku—The letter which the president of the Azerbaijan Republic sent recently to citizens of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and

Gernaboyskiy Rayon is essentially a reply to numerous appeals from the Armenian population of that "troubled" region expressing a readiness to live according to the laws of the USSR and Azerbaijan Constitutions. They condemn the nationalist and separatist forces which have brought grief and suffering to this land and in so doing express the thoughts and aspirations of thousands of ordinary people exhausted by the four-year-old conflict.

In accordance with USSR President Gorbachev's appeal to the people of Azerbaijan and the inhabitants of Nagorno-Karabakh, measures have been taken to stabilize the situation in the oblast. The USSR president's decree on confiscating weapons and disbanding illegal armed formations has been fulfilled to a certain extent. The process of lifting the state of emergency in the region is under way.

The Azerbaijan Republic president's letter notes that concrete measures have been elaborated and are being proposed for the further stabilization of the situation in the NKAO; their implementation will help to return life to a path of normality. For this it is necessary first of all to form commissions for interethnic reconciliation in each rayon. These are to include representatives of the republic organizational committee for the NKAO and the Azerbaijan and Armenian communities who firmly adhere to positions of cooperation.

The republic's leadership, the letter stresses, intends to continue doing everything to ensure peace and security for every Azerbaijani citizen who respects the laws of the Union and the republic. The main condition for the implementation of all the peace initiatives is to stop those people who are trying to fan the flames of interethnic hostility, block the roads, and resolve problems by means of weapons. Weapons must be silenced forever.

Meanwhile, most do not like the attempts to normalize the situation in the Transcaucasus. That is how people in Azerbaijan perceived the report of TASS correspondent A. Kochetkov from Rustavi entitled "Gamsakhurdia Accuses Azerbaijan," released through TASS channels. As I was told at the Azerbaijan president's press service, no charges have been made by Georgia. During talks held in Tbilisi the questions discussed included that of granting fuller cultural autonomy to Georgians in Azerbaijan and Azerbaijanis in Georgia. Full mutual understanding on this and other problems and the development of businesslike cooperation and good-neighborliness were also enshrined in the friendship treaty signed by the two republics' leaders.

Presumably there will be quite a few attempts of various kinds in the future to obstruct the incipient restoration

of peace in the region. However, I would like to believe that this process is already irreversible.

Armenian Attacks on Azerbaijani Towns Reported

NC2507081591 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 22 Jul 91

[Text] Regardless of efforts by Azerbaijani higher officials and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast people's representatives to normalize relations between the two sides, the Azerbaijan Committee for State Security and the Azerbaijan Ministry of Internal Affairs have disclosed that Armenian nationalists attacked the Internal Affairs post in Gorenboyskiy Rayon with two [word indistinct] vehicles on 20 July. Several were killed and several others were wounded during an exchange of fire. The tension was contained through measures taken with the help of the Soviet Armed Forces Commandant's Headquarters.

Armed men attacked pastures in Azerbaijan's Lachinskiy Rayon from Armenia's Sisianskiy Rayon on 21 July. Ashkend town in Azerbaijan's Zangelanskiy Rayon also was attacked the same day. Several were killed and several others were wounded on both sides. An investigation has been launched into the incidents.

Transcaucasus Military District Marks Anniversary

NC2207124791 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 18 Jul 91

[Text] A jubilant meeting was held this evening in the Baku Garrison officers mess hall to mark the 50th anniversary of the Transcaucasus Military District. Yuriy [name indistinct], chief of the Transcaucasus Military District Political Directorate, opened the meeting. Lieutenant General Vladimir Shatalov, commander of the district's military forces, read a report. President Ayaz Mutaibov addressed the gathering and congratulated the staff and officers on the 50th anniversary of the military units. Mutaibov wished them happiness, good fortune, and success in defending the homeland.

Army Gen. Viktor Yermakov, deputy defense minister; Col. Gen. Yevgeniy (?Prolov); Col. Gen. Valeriy Patrikeyev, commander of the Red Bannered Transcaucasus Military District; Maj. Gen. Akim Abbassov; chairman of the Azerbaijan Council of War Veterans; and others also addressed the convocation. A concert was held at the end of the meeting.

Viktor Polyanichko, Afrand Dashdamir, Tel'man Orudzhiev, Ragib Guseynov, Sahib Alekperov, Magomed Asadov, and [name indistinct] attended the gathering.

Kazakhstan

Association Seeks Partners for Joint Venture

PM2307103991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 22 Jul 91

[From the "Television News Service" newscast: Report by L. Laptev, identified by caption, from Ust-Kamenogorsk]

[Text] [Laptev] Probably for the first time in its long history, Ust-Kamenogorsk finds itself the focus of interest between two foreign companies with a world-wide reputation—the Japanese Chori company and the American U.G. Enterprises. To be specific, they have shown interest in the "Gemma" science and production association. It engages in the processing of nonferrous metallurgical waste which contains rare earth elements, and [word indistinct] raising—which is one of the oblast's main foreign currency earners. Unfortunately, at present it is doing so only from raw material production.

This prompted the "Gemma" association to look around for solid partners. The objective of the talks which have been held is the establishment in east Kazakhstan of a production facility fitted with the latest technological equipment for production from available raw materials that meets world standards.

Kyrgyzstan

Ministry Sees No Registered Political Parties

OW2507090791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1230 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] No political parties have been registered in Kyrgyzstan so far. According to the republic's Ministry of Justice, out of 45 registered public organisations only the Kyrgyz democratic movement has a marked political character. The movement has two wings aspiring to the name of political parties: the Asaba Party of National Revival and a left-of-centre trend.

There are 13 national culture societies setting themselves largely similar goals—reviving, preserving and developing national cultures, traditions and customs.

New Democratic Movement Holds First Meeting

OW2507092591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1800 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The organizing committee of the Popular Unity Democratic Movement held its first meeting in Bishkek on Wednesday. Its appeal was published last week.

The organizing committee consists mostly of associates of President Askar Akayev, among them the heads of ministries and agencies and members of the Kyrgyz Parliament. The overwhelming majority are Communists.

In the near future the organizing committee is to work out the program and rules of the movement that will be discussed at the founding conference in September.

Simultaneously a parliamentary group of the movement and local organizing committees will be formed.

The movement intends to unite all democratic forces irrespective of party membership, conviction or religion in order to support the policy of reforms pursued by the Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev.

Uzbekistan

Republic Not Receiving Profits From Exports

OW2507092691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1800 GMT 24 Jul 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Speakers at the Uzbek cabinet attended by members of the republic's currency committee have expressed concern that a big share of profits in foreign currency from Uzbek exports does not reach the republic.

Despite numerous orders from the currency committee, over 60 industrial associations, companies and organizations in Uzbekistan have not transferred their foreign currency accounts from the USSR bank to the Uzbek bank for foreign economic relations.

The cabinet pointed out "the incompetence, passiveness and irresponsibility" of the heads of ministries, agencies and local government bodies who are not trying to increase foreign currency returns.

Uzbek-German Cracker Production Joint Venture

PM2307100791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 19 Jul 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast: Report by Sh. Ganiyeva and S. Rasulov, identified by caption]

[Text] Despite the difficulties in our country, Western businessmen are setting up more and more joint ventures with us. Take Germany and Uzbekistan here. Perhaps we will have crackers to eat.

[Ganiyeva] All the technological processes in this virtually waste-free production unit are controlled from a central control panel. See for yourselves. Minimum outlay, strict compliance with state-of-the-art production processes, and esthetically designed equipment and

packaging. And here we have the finished product—lovely thin and very tasty crackers. I need hardly say that, given the current scarcities in the stores, they will undoubtedly meet with huge demand. A specialist claims that the production line's capacity will make it possible to saturate the republic's domestic market with these goods, which are currently in short supply. I would also point out that these machines do not permit the slightest disruption of the production processes or the use of poor-quality products in production.